

**Fishing and Brewing in Zay:
Description and Documentation of Main Linguistic
Aspects**

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Abstract

The Zay are one of the diverse ethnolinguistic groups in Ethiopia whose language and culture are severely endangered. This innovative study in the African and Ethiopian context attempts to document the language focusing on the indigenous knowledge and vocabulary used for fishing and brewing in order to produce a lasting, multipurpose record of the language. The documentation employs different tools and software to process and digitalize the data.

Based on a wordlist and other linguistic data obtained from elicitations and observed communicative events it is understood that the language of the Zay is influenced by Amharic and Oromo.

The study revealed that due to borrowing and code switching alternative terms in the registers for fishing and brewing are frequently used to denote the same entity. Multilingualism and language shift as well as cross-linguistic influence have a significant impact on the changes in the vocabulary. In the same vein, the unique cultural, historical, and ecological knowledge of the Zay embedded in those two important cultural practices also underwent changes. One of the reasons for these changes is the influences of the dominant cultures on the Zay minority that triggered the adoption of new cultural practices. As a result, the socio-historical importance of fishing and brewing is diminishing.

The data collected for this study could lay the ground for further studies, documentation, preservation, revitalization and empowerment of the Zay language and culture based on the preferences of the community.

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List of Abbreviations

adj.	Adjective
adv.	Adverb
Ann.	Annotation
ca.	Approximately
conj.	Conjunction
det.	Determinat
INST	Instrumental case
M	Masculine
n.	Noun
Possess.	Possesive
Prep.	Preposition
pron.	Pronoun
PRX	Proximal
Ref.	Reference
SG	Singular
SI	Système International
v.	Verb

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

There is a threat of losing many of the approximately 7,000 languages and many more dialects spoken around the world in a couple of decades. Some languages have already disappeared; others with only a handful of speakers are on the brink of death (Richter 2012:27).

In Ethiopia, the situation is not different. Apparently, there are Ethiopian languages that are already dead. Zay [zaj] is one of the severely endangered languages of Ethiopia spoken by a few thousand speakers. The Zay people inhabit the islands of Lake Zway. The Zay form an ethnolinguistic group within the Ethiopian contexts that still preserves its own linguistic and cultural identity which is strongly influenced by a long history of isolation from the rest of Ethiopia. On the other hand, the Zay also have attributes that they share with some of the 80 plus ethnic groups of Ethiopia due to various forms of language and culture intermingling.

As time passes by, the Zay faced significant changes in their environment, language usage and cultural heritage due to influences of other dominant languages and cultures. As the people were confined to the five islands of Lake Zway and its shores, their livelihood, by and large, is hinged to the lake. Especially, fishing has been their mainstay for many decades.

Lake Zway, the home of the Zay, is located 160 km away from Ethiopia's capital, Addis Ababa, and is one of the Great East African Rift Valley lakes. The lake and its islands have a long history and unique culture that flourished for several hundred centuries

(Henze 1973:19). The Zay, an ethnolinguistic minority group, inhabit the islands of Lake Zway and its environs. Their language, Zay, is an endangered language with only a few thousand speakers. There is no reliable statistical information with reference to the size of this ethnolinguistic group (Jordan et al. 2011:4). The absence of monolingual Zay speakers indicates the severity of the endangerment of the language. The rapid population movement and intermixing with other communities contributed to language contact and the influence from other dominant languages. As a result, in addition to their mother tongue, members of the Zay ethnolinguistic group use Amharic and/or Oromo (Tilahun 2007:6-7; Meyer 2001: 318).

The linguistic and cultural survival of the Zay is related to the five islands of Lake Zway. This fact can be compared to *Langano*, a lake with only one island. As Henze (1973:89) argues, if Langano had had more islands, it would have had a richer cultural history.

The Zay live on the three eastern islands and on the shores of Lake Zway including Zway town, aka *Baatu*, as well as more distant trading towns such as *Mek'i* and *Alem T'ena*, and in an area which stretches from the eastern shores of Lake Zway to *Assela* (Tilahun 2007:2).

The rich cultural history of the Zay is closely linked to fishing, which is one of the main livelihoods of the ethnolinguistic group. Apart from its significance as main income generating activity of the islanders, it became even an important aspect of Zay identity. Eight fish species are known to exist in Lake Zway, with few endemic species. However, this number has been increasing with the recent introduction of exotic fish

species. Preparing traditional beverages is another aspect of the ethnolinguistic group's livelihood that the present study investigated.

Giving the severe endangerment of the Zay language and culture, the present research aims at documenting two aspects of their everyday life, namely, fishing and brewing of alcoholic beverages.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The study describes and documents some features of the culture and indigenous knowledge embedded in the livelihood of the Zay. The main cause that urged to the documentation and description of main aspects of the Zay people's livelihood is its endangerment. According to UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages (2003:2), language endangerment may be the result of external forces, like military, economic, cultural or educational subjugation, or internal forces, which reflect the community's negative attitude towards its own language. In this regard, both forces are affecting the Zay.

UNESCO (2003:2) elucidates that the extinction of any language results in the irrecoverable loss of unique cultural, historical, and ecological knowledge. This undeniably also applies to Zay. Therefore, the present study – which is innovative in the African and Ethiopian context due to its approach – takes into account the urgency to document one of the endangered languages of Ethiopia.

This study intends to document and describe the two main activities of the Zay to secure their daily livelihood, namely fishing and brewing. The focus of this study is on the linguistic preservation of terms for typical utensils and procedures in traditional fishing and brewing activities and related communicative events connected with them.

These activities reflect traditional knowledge and skills that are most likely to be replaced by modern lifestyles and, therefore, need to be studied and documented before they disappear.

1.3 Objective of the Study

The study aims at documenting, describing and preserving the language and culture of fishing and brewing in Zay. By doing so, it is believed to have the following specific objectives:

1. Documenting fishing and brewing as cultural practices for earning the livelihood,
2. Documenting the vocabulary used for fishing and brewing in Zay and its associate usages in linguistic repertoires and metaphors, and
3. Surveying the impacts of multilingualism and language shift on these registers and cultural activities.

1.4 Significance of the Study

The study has a multi-dimensional significance for documenting linguistic and cultural aspects of Ethiopia's ethnolinguistic minorities. In this regard, this research plays a significant role for the preservation of the endangered language and culture of the Zay through primary data collection, documentation, description and analysis. The study is also useful for the preservation of traditional knowledge and the linguistics concepts of the Zay as it tries to document and describe the two main activities of the Zay to secure their daily livelihood. Besides, the material obtained from the study could lay the ground for further studies, documentation, preservation, revitalization and

empowerment of the Zay language and culture based on the preferences of the community.

1.5 Scope

The study focuses on the documentation and description of the language and practices of fishing and brewing of the Zay. It does not deal with each and every aspect of the Zay people's livelihood. The research is further limited to the *Tullu Guddo* island, i.e. the island with the largest reported population, and few areas at which former residents of this island resettled. Besides the study gives more attention to fishing since the Zay predominantly relies on it. Preparation of homemade alcoholic beverages is given only subordinate attention.

CHAPTER TWO

Review of Related Literature

In this chapter, the literature related to the discipline of documentary linguistics and culture in general and to linguistic and cultural studies on Zay in particular as well as documentation projects dealing with the documentation of fishing terminologies or cultural activities in other languages are reviewed.

2.1 Socio-historical, Linguistic and Cultural Background of the Zay People

2.1.1 The People

The Zay represent an ethnolinguistic minority group within the Ethiopian context that still preserves its own linguistic and cultural identity. They mainly inhabit the islands of Lake Zway, especially the three islands *Tullu Guddo*, *Tsedecha* [s'ədətʃa] and *Fundurro*, [fundurro:], and the shores of Lake Zway (Meyer 2001:317). Tilahun (2007:1) reduces the number of islands that are inhabited by people to two: *Tullu Guddo* and *Tsedecha*.

Fishing has been an important aspect of the ethnolinguistic group's livelihood. As Henze (1973:76) points out, *Tilapia nilotica*, the fish that grows to 1.3 kg and provides food for birds and man alike, helped to develop the unique culture of Lake Zway. He further states that this species of fish is an important component of the diet of the islanders and their kinsmen who now inhabit the meadows along the shore.

Meyer (2001: 326) mentions that the Zay were not using fish as a common commodity but only as diet in former times. A historical study that assesses oral traditions also

affirms that the Zay fishermen worked not for commercial profit but to satisfy their own food needs (Tuma 1982: 20).

According to Tesfaye (1988: 21), the knowledge of fishing and preparing food from fish became a central cultural practice after it helped the islanders to survive the big famine at the end of the 19th century. The Zay are reported to have pride in their history and livelihood of fishing, which they express in relation to the famine that forced other people to eat the flesh of animals condemned in Christianity.

In Zay economic life, fish was important not only as food but also its fat was used as house light before the introduction of gas-oil to the islands. It was also one form for the payment of tribute to the central government after 1886 (Tuma 1982:20).

Fishing is now the main income of the islanders and became even an important aspect of Zay identity. According to Endeshaw (2005), the surrounding Oromo people call their Zay neighbors *laak'i* meaning 'paddlers' or 'rowers of boats'. Another Oromo designation was 'worm eater' (Tefaye 1988: 23), which is out of use today. This designation refers to the frequent consumption of fish by the Zay – a food item not liked by the Oromo. These Oromo xenonyms for the Zay clearly indicate that activities connecting with fishing became an important part of the Zay ethnolinguistic group identity. Thus, not only the language and culture of the Zay is endangered, but also the identity of the Zay as separate ethnolinguistic group with its own way for earning a livelihood.

As Tuma (1982: vii-viii) indicates, despite plentiful supply of fish for several hundred years, the Zay had a subsistence economy during the 19th and early 20th centuries. He further states that unlike their neighbors on the mainland around the lake (i.e. the

Oromo), the Zay were predominantly fishermen. This historical analysis gives a clue to the longstanding history of the Zay as fishermen.

In spite of the significant role that fishing has been playing, the livelihood history of the Zay is not entirely hinged to fishing. They have been engaged in other additional activities such as weaving, cultivation of small plots of land, and, to a less significant degree, herding and small-scale local trade. Weaving, which is believed to have been introduced to the islanders by the immigrants from Menz in the 16th century, flourished around the 17th century and enhanced the trade relation between the Zay and the Oromo (Tuma 1982: viii; Tesfaye 2000 E.C.:33-34). One of the agricultural produces, *dagussa* ‘finger millet’, is an important ingredient in their food and the traditional drink which Henze (1973b:80-81) expressed as the pungent golden brew made from the black grain.

As time passes by, the Zay faced significant changes in their environment, language usage and cultural heritage due to influences of other dominant languages and cultures. As the Zay ethnolinguistic group was confined to the five islands and the shores, their livelihood, by and large, is hinged to the lake. Especially, fishing has been their mainstay for many decades. However, the fishing industry in the area is under a threat “because of the open access to the fishery and no controls on effort, in some cases fish stocks have collapsed or overall catches have declined” (Saravanan and Santhanam 2008: 118). Hence, the changes in the livelihood of the Zay may trigger a change in their identity.

There are virtually no works directly related to the documentation of the ethnolinguistic group’s language and culture of fishing. However, there are studies that

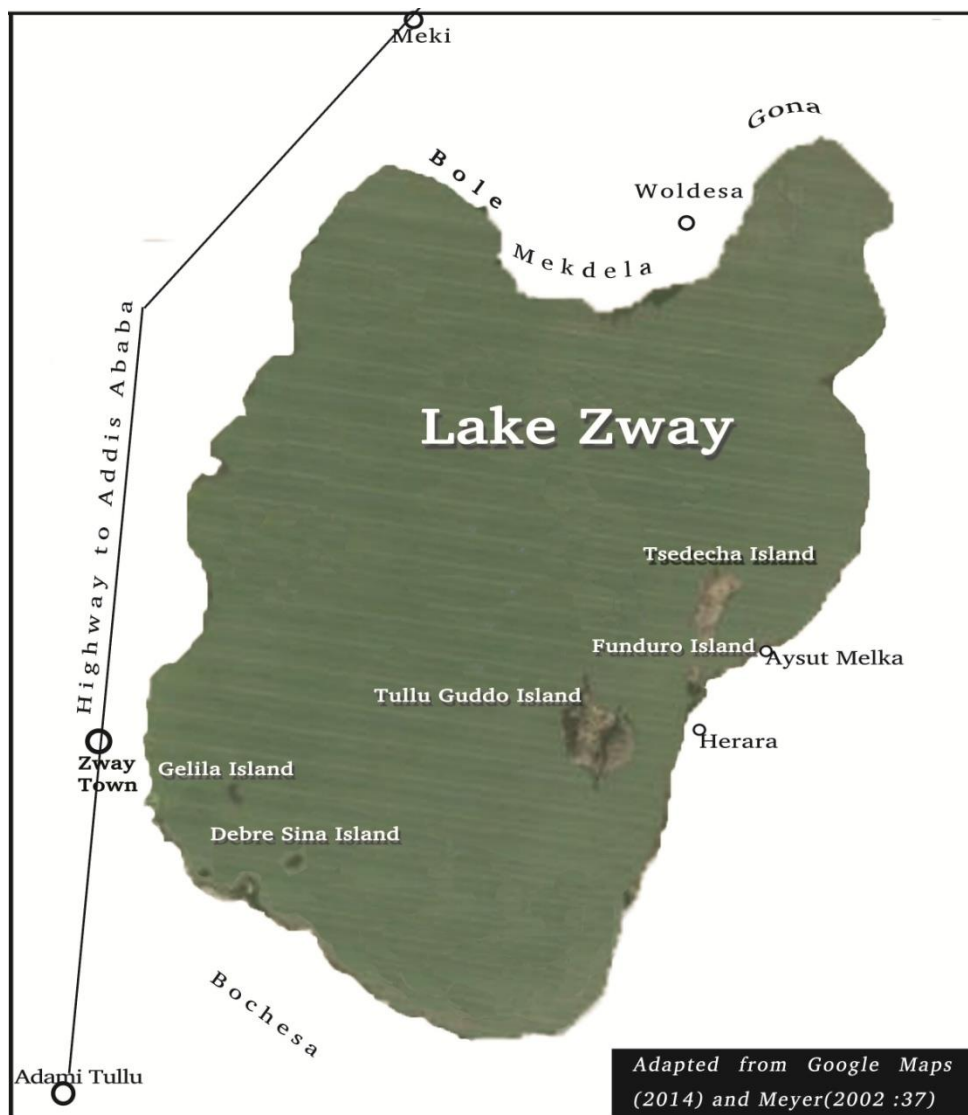
focus on the grammar of the Zay language (e.g., Leslau 1992, 1999; Meyer 2005, 2006a; Tilahun 2007), its lexicon (Leslau 1979, Meyer 2002), the ethno-history and sociolinguistic setting of the group (Tesfaye 1988, 2000 E.C.; Tuma 1982, Meyer 2001, Endashew 2005, Jordan et al. 2001, Wedekind and Wedekind 1994) and a philological study of the manuscripts found in the monasteries of the islands (Desta 2009). Especially the linguistic and sociolinguistic works on Zay are important aids for analyzing and interpreting the data gathered in this research project.

2.1.2 Lake Zway

Zway, the lake that the Zay inhabited for centuries, is located in Arsi Zone of the Oromia Region. It is the northern-most lake of the Great East African Rift Valley in Ethiopia. It is located 160 km away from Addis Ababa. The town of Asella is situated to its west. The Bora and Aluto mountains border the northern and southern fringes of Lake Zway, while the town of Zway borders its western part. Lake Zway is located between 7° 51'N to 8° 7'N and 38° 43'E to 38° 57'E. It is the third largest lake in the Ethiopian part of the Rift Valley and fourth largest lake in the country (Adamneh 2010: 5; Tesfaye 2000 E.C.: 1; Saravanan and Santhanam 2008: 118). The roughly rectangular shaped lake is situated at 1,623 m above sea level. Its greatest length from north to south extends for over 40 km (Henze 1973:76). Its shoreline length is 137 km. The mean and maximum depths of Lake Zway are 2.5 m and 9 m, respectively. Depending on the water inflow, the surface of the lake fluctuates between 435 and 485 km² (Spliethoff et al. 2009: 9). Lake Zway has a water temperature ranging from 22 °C to 27 °C (Saravanan and Santhanam 2008: 118).

The lake is fed by two medium sized tributary rivers, Meki [mək'i] and Katar [kəttar], and an outflow in the south through the Bulbula River. Meki comes down from the Gurage highlands to the north-west while the *Katar* originates from the Arsi highlands. Moreover, many smaller streams flowing to the lake also contribute to the inflow (Henze 1973:76).

Map 1 Map of Lake Zway and its environs



The islands can be geographically divided into two groups: a south-eastern and a south-western. The south-western group consists of *Debre Sina* [dəbrə sina] and *Gelila* [gəlila] (Meyer 2001:319). Tesfaye (1988:7) reports the last settlers left *Gelila* in 1972. *Debre Sina* is also an abandoned island, with the exception of some priests who perform church services there at special holidays. It was also reported that three families returned to *Gelila* in the late 1990s. The other islands, *Tullu Guddo*, *Tsedecha*, and *Funduro*, belong to the south-eastern group. Around 2,000 people are living on *Tsedecha*, an island with plenty of land for agriculture. *Tullu Guddo*, the biggest island in the lake, is accommodating around 1,200 persons. *Funduro* is settled by 150 persons (Meyer 2001:319).

Despite their Zay names, the southeastern islands are often only known by their Oromo names. *Tullu Guddo* ('big mountain' in Oromo) is called *Derbechon* [dərbətʃon] 'mountain of Zion' in Zay. *Tsedecha*, which refers to a kind of acacia in Oromo, is known as *Aysut* [ajsut] in Zay. *Funduro* is a composite name with the Oromo words of *fula* 'face' and *dura* 'in front of'. In Zay, it is known as *Famat*. This island is also known, especially by Amharic speakers, as *Getesemani* [getəsəmani], literally 'decoration of heaven' (Meyer 2002:36-37).

Zway is a turbid freshwater lake in which only eight fish species are known to live, among which only a few are endemic. The three endemic fish species are *Barbus ethiopicus*, *B. microterolepis*, and *Garra makiensis* which inhabit Lake Zway and its adjacent rivers (Adamneh 2010:5; Vreugdenhil et al. 2012: 141). Furthermore, this lake produces high quality tilapia (Saravanan and Santhanam 2008, 118). Despite the

relative diversity of fish species in the lake, *Tilapia nilotica*, a flat fish with succulent white flesh, seems to have more significance than the remaining species.

2.1.3 Origin of the Name Zay/Zway

There is no evidence as to the origin of the name Zay or Zway. However, oral tradition traces the time at which the word Zay has been coined back to the 9th century when the first Ge'ez-speaking immigrants to the area were stunned by the landscape of the islands and subsequently named them Zay, which means 'this thing' or 'this place' (Tesfaye 2000 E.C.:5). The word gradually became the name both for the ethnolinguistic group and the area. According to a somewhat similar oral tradition, Zay is a combination of two Ge'ez words, *zə* and *way*, used by the first religious refugees from the north. The Ge'ez word *zə* is equivalent to 'this' and *way* is an exclamation of surprise or sorrow. The people used these words when they tried to cross the lake and panicked as they were sinking, pointing their fingers towards the islands. The people who made it to the island called themselves *Zay* (Meyer 2001:319).

Meyer (2001:317 footnote 2), on the contrary to Tesfaye (2000 E.C.) and Leslau (1992 [1960], 1979, 1994), draws a clear delineation between the name of the Zay ethnolinguistic group and their language, Zay, vs. the name for the lake, Zway, which was later extended to the nearby town on the southwestern shores of the lake. Meyer (2001:317 footnote 2) makes clear that the term Zay refers to both the ethnolinguistic group and the language while the word Zway refers to the lake and the town.

The Zay elders believe that their ancestors came to the islands at various times from different places (Meyer 2002:37). Tuma (1982:1-2), too, assumes that the original homeland of the Zay was not a single historical place and, consequently, the Zay

ethnolinguistic group does not have a common origin. He also provides different oral traditions of the Zay origin, which is dated back to medieval times.

The Zay ethnolinguistic group is believed to be the result of three main movements and interactions of people during the 13th and 14th centuries. The three groups – *Aregñ* [arəɲ], *Obborubar* [obborubar] and *Zafit* [zəfit] – are believed to be the most ancient people who lived on the shore of Lake Zway in ancient times. Later, many of them were pushed towards south-west from their original place by unknown warriors while the remaining few people were able to cross the lake most probably by boats and settled at the three south-eastern islands: *Tullu Guddo*, *Tsedecha* and *Funduro*. Having fled from the warriors, the *Aregñ* and *Obborubar* minority settled on the south-eastern part of the *Tullu Guddo* Island. The *Zafit* were able to cross to the *Funduro* and *Tsedecha* islands and settled there (Tuma 1982:1-2). Later in the middle of the 16th century, these three tribes were joined by a group of people who came from *Menz* [mənz], led by a certain man known as *as'k'usillase*. He was wise and powerful enough to usurp power from the then ruling group and consolidated his power all over the islands. Subsequently, he named the various islands uniformly as Zay and made them a single independent entity under his leadership. The language also came to be known as Zay since then (Tuma 1982:9; Tesfaye 2000 E.C.:21).

Another oral tradition links the Muslim Silt'e (East Gurage) to the Zay during the Oromo migration that eventually resulted in a new language with profound lexical similarity with the Silt'e language (Tuma 1982:9, 11-12; Shin and Ofeansky 2013: 436).

Meyer (2002:36) also mentions another oral tradition according to which the etymology of Zay is related to the Ethiopian Bible, especially to the Psalms of Dawit 118/119, in which the letter z of the alphabet is pronounced as *Zay*.

Discussing their history of settlement in the current Zway area, Henze (1973:89; 2000:114) widens the geographical area that the Zay had inhabited to three other lakes: *Langano* [langano], *Shala* [ʃala] and *Wonchi* [wontʃ'i]. He elucidates that the Zay living on Lake Zway remained tenaciously Christian even though they were isolated from the center of the Ethiopian church until Menelik II conquered the region in the 1880s. However, this is only a recent complex of historical developments. The culture of the Zay on the islands developed during the Middle Ages (Henze 1973:77).

Despite the various elucidations based on the folk-etymology and the references from the Bible, the name Zay does not give many clues of its origin (Meyer 2001:319).

2.1.4 The Language

Zay is one of the severely endangered languages of Ethiopia spoken by a few thousand speakers. Jordan et al. (2011:11) indicate that the Zay speak Oromo and Amharic in addition to their mother tongue referred to as *zajjina*. In Meyer's (2001:317) study, the language is called *jəzaj af*, which literally means 'language/mouth of the Zay'.

The Zay language is influenced by other languages, such as Amharic. Leslau (1999: xvii) and Boone et al. (2007:1) give an account of the linguistic contact between Amharic and Zay through religious activities.

Endeshaw (2005:9) and Meyer (2005:15) comment on the absence of reliable information on the number of Zay speakers mentioning that no appropriate census has

been taken for this ethnolinguistic group. Estimates of the Zay population vary significantly between 4,900 and 14,000 speakers (Meyer 2005:15). The estimate by Meyer (2005:15 footnote 2) provides information about the Zay speaking population that was living on the islands as well as the hinterland in 1999. According to this information, the total Zay speaking population at the five islands as well as in the hinterland was 13,665.

The minority status of the Zay is confined by Jordan et al. (2011:4) who report, “[t]he 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia contains no information with reference to the Zay people.” The Zay were not mentioned in the subsequent 2007 Population and Housing Census (CSA: 2008) probably because the census sometimes counts different languages as one, for example Eastern Gurage contains Wolane and Zay (cf. Hudson 2012: 209). Another indicator for the severe level of the endangerment is the absence of monolingual Zay speakers. Meyer (2001: 318), for instance, notes that there are no monolinguals in Zay; in addition to their mother tongue, Zay, they also know Amharic and/or Oromo.

Jordan et al. (2011:12) analyze the linguistic domains in which Zay is actively used. According to them, on Tullo Guddo, Zay is the only language used in the family domain, while Oromo is the only language used for communicating with siblings and children in Bochesa. Zay, Oromo or Amharic are used when communicating with parents or spouses in Bochesa. Nevertheless, Zay is used when communicating with friends or elders on Tullu Guddo, while at Bochesa, Oromo is the only language employed in this function. The report shows that Zay is not used in other discourse domains such as in administration or at markets, where Oromo and Amharic are used.

The reason behind this is Amharic is the islanders' foremost language of religious activities and Oromo is the language that schooling is conducted in, as they live in a strongly Oromo area (Jordan et al. 2011:3).

In a bid that seems to make their language grow, the Zay once demanded the right for self-determination (Meyer 2005: 15 footnote 2). In line with this, Brenzinger (1997:212) argues that the Zay are presently in a position to practice their constitutionally guaranteed right to self-determination regardless whether they are indigenous to the region or migrated to present day Oromia. This throws light on two points: little or no attention has been paid to the Zay community as such, and to their language and culture in particular.

Wedekind and Wedekind (1994: 1) believe that Zay is one of the well-studied Ethiopian languages and state, “Zway (Lak’i) is a language which is comparatively well-researched – with the exception of its socio-linguistic aspects and its developments during recent decades.” As elaborated in Tilahun (2007: 5), “from a purely descriptive perspective, the Zay language is a fairly studied language among the East Gurage languages.” Although there are works dealing with linguistic aspects of the Zay language and the ethno-history and sociolinguistic setting of the group, specific cultural activities of the Zay and their linguistic conceptualization are not sufficiently recorded.

There is a general agreement that the Zay speak a Semitic language. The language is classified as one of the Transversal South Ethio-Semitic languages which are further sub-divided into a “northern” and “southern” branch. According to this categorization,

Zay is part of East Gurage languages together with Silt'e and Wolane (Meyer 2005:21). Henze (2000:114) also correlates the language and culture of the Zay with Harar.

Although the language is believed to have no dialect variation of any kind (Gardner and Siebert 2001:5; Shinn and Ofcansky 2013:436), intense contact with Oromo has enhanced dialectal variation (cf. Meyer 2006b:5). Tesfaye (2000 E.C.:6) reports that Zay is an amalgamation of Ge'ez, various Gurage varieties, Tigrinya, and Amharic. However, the relation of Zay with other languages, particularly with Tigrinya is criticized as an opinion that is not based on linguistic grounds (Meyer 2001:317).

The Zay seem to be historically and linguistically attached to the Harari, the Kistane and the Silt'e. According to historical accounts (Tuma 1982:26ff.), the Zay exchanged goods with the Kistane, the Silt'e and the Libido in the 19th century. This trade relation might have resulted in the intermingling of languages and cultures. Nevertheless, Silt'e seems to be closer to the Zay than any other language.

2.2 Documentary Linguistics and Culture

Documentary linguistics is an emerging field (Himmelman 2006:28). In relation to the availability of related literature on this field, Himmelman (2006:28) states that many things are still in flux. The works available include a volume based on a series of lectures and seminars in which scholars have tried to give general definitions and explain what this emerging field is and what it is essential for. One of the scholars, Himmelman (2006:1), considers language documentation as "a field of linguistic inquiry and practice in its own right which is primarily concerned with the compilation and preservation of linguistic primary data and interfaces between primary data and various types of analyses based on these data." The primary data, as Himmelman

(2006, 1) states, “constitute the core of a language documentation and include audio or video recordings of a communicative event (a narrative, a conversation, etc.), but also the notes taken in an elicitation session, or a genealogy written down by a literate native speaker.” However, the wider goal of language documentation is not collecting primary data, but also to present and preserve the cultural heritage of the speech community. Ethnographical information must be linked to linguistic data and its annotation and analysis (Franchetto 2006:183). Hill (2006:114) also emphasizes the demand for integration in documentary linguistics.

Dwyer (2006: 32) focuses on the process of language documentation and examines central ethical, legal, and practical responsibilities of linguists and ethnographers in fieldwork-based projects. Some of the ethical issues that the researcher should adhere to include a grasp of the legal implications (local, national, and international) of data ownership, an understanding of ethical and legal responsibilities so as to facilitate the building of trust – and thus a successful relationship – with a community research team, and making ethical and legal premises explicit in order to anticipate and avoid problems (Dwyer 2006:32). There are also works that give attention to fieldwork ethics, conflicting responsibilities, confidentiality (Dorian 2010:179) and the importance of working with a team of native speakers in the community (Mosel 2006:84).

Another important issue that scholars in the field emphasize is the strategy of empowering minority or endangered language speakers. For instance, Batibo (2009:195) highlights language documentation as a strategy for the empowerment of the minority languages of Africa.

Regarding the principles and techniques of language documentation, Bouda and Helmbrecht (2012:129) discuss important documentation principles and techniques termed as “electronic grammaticography”. With regard to grammatical description, documentary linguists make one important distinction that is maintained in grammaticography. This distinction is between a semasiological vs. an onomasiological approach to grammar. The former “takes the formal expressions of a language as starting point and tries to find out what they mean in different contexts” while the latter “takes the meaning/function as starting point and tries to find out which forms in a language may be used to express them” (Bouda and Helmbrecht 2012:130). The two approaches are complementary; Bouda and Helmbrecht (2012:130) prefer the onomasiological approach because it allows contemporary and detailed ways of dealing with data.

2.3 Documenting Aqua Life, Fishing and Brewing Vocabulary

There are a number of linguistic documentation projects around the world that focus on cultural terminology and related issues. A substantial number of them directly or indirectly pays attention to the documentation of fishing and aqua life. These works include, inter alia, the documentation of different aspects of the Marquesan culture in one of the archipelagos of French Polynesia (Cablitiz and Tetahiotupa 2004), fishing ground names at Norfolk Islands (Nash 2012), and a description of traditional ways of making fishing nets and fishing techniques in Papua New Guinea (Daniels 2010). Similar documentation projects are almost nonexistent in Africa. In fact, there are few initiatives undertaken, like Glaesel (1997) who has worked on fisher vocabulary at the Kenyan coast, or Essegbey (2011) who is currently documenting practices related to

fishing (including catching, processing, marketing and consumption) among the Dwang communities, south of Lake Volta in Ghana.

There are a number of studies from the field of natural sciences on the aqua life of Lake Zway. Mathewos (2011:3) notes that Lake Zway is one of the most studied lakes in Ethiopia. Tesfaye (2000 E.C.: 4) states that the lake hosts different varieties of fish eating birds, hippopotamus, snakes, and fishes. There are a number of amphibians and birds including *Alopochen aegyptiacus*, *Anhinga rufa* and *Phalacrocorax carbo* (Hughes and Hughes 1992:159). The islands and the shores grow varieties of plants which are of significance for the livelihood of the Zay. Lake Zway has extended semi-submerged reed and Scirpus zones which are an important habitat for both fish and aquatic birds (Vreugdenhil 2012: 141). The Zay employ their unique cultural, historical, and ecological knowledge to make use of the natural resources around them. Bulrush, for example, is used for thatching houses, whereas ambatch and papyrus, plants whose unlimited quantities were important in the evolution of the island culture, are used for construction of boats (Mirutse 2001:84).

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

The study relies on qualitative methods for data gathering and analysis in order to document the terminology for fishing and brewing in the Zay ethnolinguistic group. The lexical items were elicited through interviews in which information on the cultural background of their use was also gathered. The conducted interviews were informal because this allowed the researcher to react to new findings or questions as the

interview progresses (cf. Vanderstoep and Johnston 2009:224). The interview data were crosschecked with other participants and used to backup the metadata of the recorded narratives. Furthermore, non-participant (indirect) observation was used to verify the occurrence of the terminology in day-to-day activities.

As Maxwell (2010:264) points out, for any extensive interaction with a speech community one or more principal native speaker consultants are needed. Aseffa Midekso, who was a native speaker of Zay, was selected as the principal informant for this study. He was originally from Tsedecha island. During this study, he was living in Meki town. He is 41 years of age and a trained Amharic teacher in an elementary school in Meki town. He can read and write the Zay language as well as Amharic, which was the contact language in the course of collecting the data. His linguistic background was significant because “[t]he ideal native speaker language consultant is a trained linguist who can read and write his or her own language, as well as a contact language” (Maxwell 2010:264). All other informants, who were from Tullu Guddo or Tsedecha islands, are also mother-tongue speakers of Zay. None of them is monolingual in Zay. Overall, 12 informants, including two females, participated in the data collection and verification (cf. Appendix 2 for details). Three of the informants were members of the same family so that there was an opportunity to observe the use of the language in the family domain.

The selection of informants was based on their age and sex. Elders as old as 60 years were selected for their profound knowledge of their language and culture. Youngsters, on the other hand, were selected for the actual use of the terminology in day-to-day

activities. Women were selected for their additional knowledge on such activities as food preparation and brewing which they acquired due to their traditional gender role.

The linguistic data (see Appendix and attached files) were transcribed and translated into Amharic and English with the help of these informants. The tools used for recording the data were digital camera, digital video camera, digital recorder, computer, paper and pencil.

The documentation includes 20 minutes audio and 15 minutes video recordings, as well as images of fishing gears. A voice-over narration audio file is used in the subtitled video with English translations to describe various production processes related to fishing. The collection comprises: audio files from a range of communicative events including a wedding, conversations between fish buyers and sellers, members of a family and songs. The metadata is created in the Open Language Archives Community (OLAC) format.

The data collected were stored, processed and analyzed by several software packages like Audacity, Adobe Premier, ELAN and Toolbox. Audacity is employed for preparation of audio files while Adobe Premier for video. ELAN was used for annotation and to transcribe and translate the data produced by the principal informant. Toolbox was used for creating the lexicon. The characters are encoded using the Unicode format. The transcription is in IPA.

Community involvement and active participation was insured as much as possible through consultations with informants and by allowing them to comment, correct and analyze transcriptions and translations of the data corpus. They checked whether words/expressions were correct and made replacements if needed. In accordance with

Austin (2010:12), the researcher recognizes the role of speakers and their rights and needs of maintaining their language. Furthermore, the ethical requirements for this type of research were strictly followed. The researcher had obtained the consent of the participants for any form of recording in which they were directly involved, except in close-up shots.

Furthermore, the present documentation has been made accessible, since the primary purpose of language documentation is to represent the language for those who do not have direct access to the language itself (Lehmann 2001:5). Members of the Zay ethnolinguistic group were provided with the copies the project data. These data are also available online for researchers based on access permissions which are described in the metadata.

CHAPTER FOUR

Description of Fishing and Brewing in Zay

This chapter deals with the description of traditional fishing and brewing of the Zay ethnolinguistic group. The description is based on linguistic primary data gathered in the field accompanied by photographs and annotated audio/video. It presents the vocabulary used in the registers for fishing and also explores the unique cultural, historical, and ecological knowledge of the Zay embedded in those two important cultural practices.

4.1 Fishing among the Zay

This section describes fishing, the most important subsistence activity of the Zay for earning their livelihood. Based on the information gathered from informants, it deals with fish species that are commonly caught, fishing equipment, fishing methods, fishing baits and the socio-historical importance of fishing.

4.1.1 Fishing in Zay Culture

Fishing is the most important traditional livelihood of the Zay, probably, ever since their existence as a distinctive ethnolinguistic group. The role that fishing plays in the culture of this ethnolinguistic group is beyond supporting them with food. It is also of significance for social cohesion and identity formation. Beyond cuisine and supporting their subsistence economy, fishing has been a source of pride as it helped the ethnolinguistic group to survive in times of crisis.

Historically, fish was used as payment by the Zay who were engaged in extensive back-breaking private service for their rulers (Tuma 1982:16). The Zay used fish also for various other purposes including providing them with light.¹

Today, the supply with fish is not as plentiful as it was before. The cultural practice of fishing is no longer a source of pride. Due to a serious lack of good fish harvesting, several islanders started to cut and sell wood because they do not have other economic options (Spliethoff et al. 2009:15). According to Bonso, the islanders are receiving backing from the government as result of the fish insufficiency in Lake Zway (interview on 23-06-2013).

Although fish is an everyday food for the Zay, the role it plays in rituals and rites of passages is currently minimal. For instance, meat from sheep and goats or livestock has more significance than fish in wedding festivities. During a wedding party that I attended at the village called *Herera Laki* [herəra laak'i] on June 22, 2013, I did not see any fish served by the host family. At the morning after the marriage, which can be considered as a cultural passage for the couple, the food which the bride and groom along with the attendants of the wedding were served was *c'iko* – a thick bread-like porridge made from roasted barley mixed with a lot of spiced butter. This type of food is commonly prepared at Oromo weddings (Kloman 2010). Thus, there is a tendency of assigning expensive and scarce resources, such as meat, to the most important rituals like marriage. On the other hand, there is an influence of the dominant Oromo culture on the Zay minority that resulted in the adoption of cultural practices, including food rites.

¹ Today, however, no one is using the fat from fish to light up houses, as I observed during my fieldwork.

Fishing involves both sexes, although the division of labor in the fishing process is strictly in line with the traditional gender roles. The actual capturing of fish and the construction of fishing equipment such as boats, fishing nets (cf. Picture 1 in Appendix 1), hooks, etc., are carried out only by men whereas food preparation is assigned to women. Fish processing is not gender specific. Although men and women can do the gutting and filleting, more men were observed in doing this particular task (cf. Picture 2 in Appendix 1).

4.1.2 Fish Species in Lake Zway

The information about the exact number of fish species in Lake Zway is contradictory. The most common species are given in Table 1 with their Zay names and English translations:

Table 1 Fish Species in Lake Zway²

	Scientific Name	Zay Name	English Name
(a)	<i>Barbus ethiopicus</i>	<i>mintʃ'i</i>	barbus
(b)	<i>Carassius Sp.</i>	<i>dʒappe</i>	carassius
(c)	<i>Cyprinus carpio</i>	<i>dubbe/debba/dubba</i>	common carp
(d)	<i>Garra makiensis</i>		
(e)	<i>Clarias gariepinus</i>	<i>?ambazza</i>	catfish
(f)	<i>Oreochromis niloticus</i>	<i>k'oroso</i>	Nile tilapia
(g)	<i>Tilapia zilli</i>	<i>kenija/?addise</i>	tilapia sp.

² Zay names of fishes are given by informants and matched with their scientific names by Dr. Zenebe Tadesse (personal communication).

Golubtsov et al. (2002:234) list nine species of which two – *Barbus ethiopicus* and *Garra makiensis* (items (a) and (d) in Table 1) – are endemic to the Ethiopian Rift Valley (cf. Adamneh 2010:5; Vreugdenhil et al. 2012: 141). According to Adane Gemed (interview on 16-11-2013), however, there are only six types of fishes in the lake, namely: *mintfi* (Table 1a), *k'oroso* (Table 1f), *kenija* (Table 1g), *?ambazza* (Table 1e), *dubbe* (Table 1c), and *dzappe* (Table 1b).

Tesfaye (2000 E.C.: 4) notes that fish species commonly caught in Lake Zway were *mintfi* and *k'oroso* (cf. Picture 3 in Appendix 1). The latter is known in Amharic as *biltfa*.

Fish species that are called by the Zay *dubbe* or *debba* or *dubba* (cf. Picture 4 in Appendix 1), *kenija* (cf. Picture 5 in Appendix 1) and *dzappe* (cf. Picture 6 in Appendix 1) are reproducing in greater number. Adane Gemed (interview on 16-11-2013) describes *kenija* as a fish similar to the boneless *k'oroso* but less tasty. The Zay believe that the species *k'oroso* and *mintfi* have medical importance. The species *dzappe* is a rather black fish and looks like *mintfi* (Adane Gemed interview on 16-11-2013). Its flesh is used to prepare a lightly cooked fish dish known by Amharic speakers as *ləbləb* (Adane Gemed interview on 16-11-2013).

The predatory fish species *?ambazza* ‘catfish’ (cf. Picture 7 in Appendix 1) and *dubbe* (or *debba* or *dubba*) ‘common carp’ are a recent to Lake Zway (Adane Gemed interview on 16-11-2013, Hughes and Hughes 1992:158). The fish species *?ambazza* ‘catfish’ was brought from another lake in the 1990s to the Zway fish processing and marketing enterprise for being filleted. However, it managed to escape to the lake and reproduced. This incident has caused changes in the ecology and fish species composition of the lake (Spliethoff et al. 2009:12; Zenebe Afework interview on 16-

11-2013). Although *?ambazza* is new to Lake Zway, early travel documents show that it has a longstanding presence in other freshwaters of Ethiopia. Early travelers like Plowden (1868:270), who visited parts of Ethiopia including Gondar and the source of the Blue Nile in the 1840s and 1850s, and Pearce (1831: 237-238) report that *?ambazza* was found in most of the large rivers. The other newly introduced fish species *dubbe* (or *debba* or *dubba*) is also known as *abba samuel*. Its color is similar to *mintfi*.

4.1.3 Fishing Methods

The Zay developed and practiced several fishing methods with various gears to catch fish and satisfy their nutritional and financial needs. The most significant methods and the associated gears are summarized in Table 2:

Table 2 Traditional fishing methods and materials used for fishing by the Zay

Fishing Method	Gears Used	Gloss
FISHING WITH A FISH LINE	(a) <i>migo</i>	‘fishing line’
	(b) <i>mett’i</i>	‘fishing rod’
	(c) <i>wək’ləmit</i> or <i>mək’at’in</i>	‘fishhook’
	(d) <i>ʃəfət’</i>	‘canoe’
FISHING WITH A HAND-HELD FISHING NET	(e) <i>jündzi mərəβ</i>	‘hand net’
	(f) <i>mərəβrəβə</i>	‘buoy’
	(g) <i>k’ək’əbu</i>	‘small stones’
	(h) <i>ʃəfət’</i>	‘canoe’
	(i) <i>jəməməβ mədəb</i>	‘drag lines’
FISHING WITH A GILLNET	(j) <i>digin mərəb</i>	‘gill net’
	(k) <i>tirmallə</i>	‘seine net’
	(l) <i>?umun</i>	‘stone (as net weight)’

	(m) <i>dʒəlba</i>	‘boat’
	(n) <i>mərəβrəβa</i>	‘buoy’
BEACH SEINING	(o) <i>borratə</i>	‘beach seine’
	(p) <i>ʔirsas</i>	‘lid’
	(q) <i>mərəβrəβa</i>	‘buoy’
	(r) <i>dʒəlba</i>	‘boat’
	(s) <i>jəmərəβ mādab</i>	‘drag lines’

Although the fishing equipment that the Zay use underwent improvements from time to time, it was the population pressure and the subsequent demand for food that induced dramatic changes in the equipment and fishing techniques. In former times, the Zay used less sophisticated equipment, such as *ʔankakse* ‘wooden spears’ and *mək’at’in* ‘fishhook’ (cf. Picture 8 in Appendix 1) or even bare hands for fishing (Tesfaye 2000 E.C.:51-52; Tuma 1982:21).

Currently, the Zay practice three types of traditional fishing: fishing with a fish line, fishing with gillnet and beach seining. Before the introduction of net fishing, the Zay had traditional knowledge of fishing with a fish line (cf. Picture 9 in Appendix 1). They caught fish with a *migo* ‘fishing line’ made from fiber or nylon attached to a *mək’at’in* ‘fishhook’. This fishing line is alternatively called *fiit* ‘rope from yarn’, *wədaro* ‘rope’, or *lajnon* ‘nylon’. The fishing rod they sometimes used at that time was mainly made from reed (cf. Picture 8 in Appendix 1).

The Zay divide the hand line fishing method into two: traditional and contemporary. In this relatively olden technique, fishermen catch fish with a fishing line that ends with a single *wək’ləmit* or *mək’at’in* ‘fishhook’, which looks like a bent sewing needle or safety pin with a bait. The other end of the line is held by the fisherman who sits by the shore or on a canoe and tosses the baited *mək’at’in* ‘hook’ into the lake. When a fish

is attracted by the bait and tries to eat it, it sends a vibrating signal through the line. This vibration is a signal for the fisherman to pull the line in order to hook the fish. In successful capture, the fisherman detaches the fish from the hook and stocks it in a sack or just pierces the softest part of its mouth with a rope through so that he can easily knot and hang it (Assefa Midekso interview on 14-11-2013). Hanging fishes is preferable to putting them in a sack as it enables the fisherman to keep the fish fresh and alive for a long time. It is also an ideal method to avoid snatching of catches by fish eating birds (cf. Picture 10 in Appendix 1).

The contemporary hand line fishing method also employs a long *migo* ‘line’. Fishermen prepare about 200 baited *mək’atin* ‘fishhooks’ attached to a single line and cast it to the lake. When a fish grabs the bait, the line starts vibrating which can be seen on the lake. However, the fisherman does not respond to the vibrating signal by immediately casting out the fishing line. Instead, he waits for more vibrations. When he is of the opinion that a significant number of the *mək’atin* ‘hooks’ captured fish, he casts out the line and collects the catches. This activity is repeated until enough fish are captured. This fishing method is most frequently performed far away from the shoreline at the deepest parts of the lake using a *ǰəfət* ‘canoe’ (cf. Picture 11 in Appendix 1).

The Zay also practices net fishing (cf. Picture 12 in Appendix 1). According to historical accounts, this improvement in fishing occurred in the late 19th century with the introduction of fishing nets. The net fishing method is said to have been introduced to the Zay from *Tullu Laak’i* ‘Lake Langano’ by a certain Gelelcha Edo [gələltʃa ʔedo] (Tesfaye 1988:22; Tuma 1982:21). This new fishing method not only enabled fishermen of the Zay to catch more fish and thereby meet the demands of the growing

population, but also made it possible that the fishing activity became their predominant occupation (Tuma 1982:21).

The old fishing net that the Zay seldom use nowadays is the round *jiindzi mərəḅ* ‘hand net’ (Assefa Midekso, interview on 14-11-2013). It is a mesh interlaced from a cotton weft which is thinly spun and twisted together. The interlacing begins narrowly but ends widely. A rope or fiber is knotted at the narrower edge of the finished net. At the very end of the rope or fiber, a short spongy wood or cork, which is usually cut from *tongolu* ‘balsa wood’, is tied (cf. Picture 13 in Appendix 1).³ The short piece of *tongolu* is known by three names: *mərəḅrəḅə* ‘buoy’, *jətonḡolu k’irt’atf* ‘a piece of cork from balsa wood’⁴, and *bu* ‘cork’ (Assefa Midekso, interview on 14-11-2013).

Casting out the *jiindzi mərəḅ* ‘hand net’ is not an easy task but needs a skillful thrower. It spreads out like an umbrella before it sinks. Once the *jiindzi mərəḅ* is sunk, it is difficult to get it back, unless *mərəḅrəḅə* ‘buoys’ are attached to it. Fishermen of the Zay use the floating *mərəḅrəḅə* to locate their *jiindzi mərəḅ*. The *mərəḅrəḅə* has also a signaling purpose. It bobs in the water when fishes are captured so that the fisherman will cast out the net.⁵ Stones known as *k’ək’əbu* are attached at the other end of the *jiindzi mərəḅ* to protect the net from sinking deeper (Assefa Midekso interview on 14-

³ The plant used in the construction of boats is called *ambatch* in Mirutse (cf. 2001:84) and Henze (1972:76). Henze further describes it as “extremely light wood, like balsa.” *Ambatch*, a term from an Ethiopian language, is a plant probably first discovered in Ethiopia in the 19th century (Stevenson 2010:49). Its geographic distribution includes many countries of tropical Africa. It is also found in Egypt, Indonesia and Sri Lanka. The lightweight wood is used for canoes, rafts and shields, but also for building poles and furniture. The stems are used for fishing net floats and sandals (Lemmens 2008:35).

⁴ cf. Ann., Ref. Informant 060

⁵ In other fishing societies the *ambatch* plays a similar role. It is attached to fishing spears to ensure they reappear at the water surface, or may be attached to spears to serve as a ‘buoy’ (Lemmens 2008:35).

11-2013). The net is kept to cover just the portion of the water that is believed to have plenty of fish.

The second type of net fishing that the Zay employ is similar to gillnet fishing. According to Lockwood (2001:45), gillnets are “curtains of netting that hang vertically in the water, either in a fixed position (e.g. surface or sea bed) or drifting, that trap fish by their gill covers – operculum – when they try to swim through the net’s meshes.” This type of fishing is carried out with a net that the Zay refer to as *tirmallā* (Assefa Midekso interview on 14-11-2013)⁶ – a mesh interlaced from nylon (cf. Picture 14 in Appendix 1). It is a relatively long net that stretches up to 200 meters. The floating *tongolu* is tied at the one side of the net at a distance of a meter. At the other side of the *tirmallā* a big stone known as *ʔumun*⁷ is tied as weight (Assefa Midekso interview on 14-11-2013). The *tongolu* floats while the *ʔumun* sinks. As a result, the *tirmallā* stands between the floating *tongolu* and the sunken *ʔumun* thereby it becomes a wall so that any fish trying to cross it will end up wedged, gilled or entangled. The fisherman removes the catch in the following morning (cf. Picture 14 in Appendix 1) but might leave the net in the water for more catches. If necessary, he will change its location. The net usually stays in the lake for a long time.

The third type of net that the Zay use is a seine net called *borrətā* ‘beach seine’ (Assefa Midekso interview on 14-11-2013). It is a mesh usually made up of cords (cf. Picture 15 in Appendix 1). As the net is very heavy, it requires three persons that operate it. One of them rows the boat. The remaining two fishermen, one standing on land and the other in the boat, cast the net by holding it at each end (cf. Picture 16 in Appendix

⁶ cf. Ann., Ref. Informant 005

⁷ cf. Ann., Ref. Informant 035

1). The ends have handling ropes, drag lines, which are about 1,000 meters long each. The net has two parts. In the middle, it has a bag the Zay refer to as *dzonja* (Assefa Midekso interview on 14-11-2013)⁸. At the bottom of the net, pieces of *ʔirsas* ‘lid’ are tied as weights at a meter distance, while a cork, usually *mərəβrəβə*, floats the top line (Assefa Midekso interview on 14-11-2013). The *ʔirsas* ‘lid’ is important for it can easily be cut and reshaped. With the help of the rower, the two fishermen grab the drag lines at each side and throw the *borrətə* ‘beach seine’ into the lake to surround fish with the weighted net. Then they bring the two sides of the net together and then drag it to the land to collect the fish from the bag.

The Zay use various plants to construct their traditional fishing boats, which are given in the following table:

Table 3 Plants Used for Boat Construction

	Zay Name	Gloss	Function
(a)	<i>tongolu</i>	‘balsa wood’	construction of carved out boats
(b)	<i>bimbilaj</i>	‘papyrus’	construction of small boats
(c)	<i>ʔurintfilla</i>	‘climbing plant’	tying bundles of papyrus together in the construction of small boats

According to Tesfaye (2000 E.C.:51), the Zay use *bimbilaj* ‘papyrus’ that grows in swampy areas to construct relatively fast boats that are big enough for three persons. The yearly harvesting and transporting of *bimbilaj* ‘papyrus’ from the remotest part of the lake and stocking it at the islands was an important task that men of the Zay

⁸ cf. Ann., Ref. Informant 065

performed. This task was so important that men who are involved in it are praised in wedding songs by girls.

Based on oral tradition, Tesfaye (2000 E.C.:51) also mentions that early inhabitants of the islands used the thick and light wood species of *tongolu* ‘balsa wood’ to construct dugout fishing and transport boats. There is no evidence how and when the pale colored and spongy *tongolu* ‘balsa wood’ was introduced to the Zay.

According to Mrs. Belyu Mamo (interview on 22-6-2013), the Zay construct two types of traditional boats, namely *ʃəfət*⁹ and *bust’a*. The former, *ʃəfət*⁹, is a papyrus boat only for one passenger. The latter, *bust’a*, is a boat carved out from *tongolu* ‘balsa wood’. Aseffa Midekso (interview on 14-11-2013) gives a rather different explanation of the boats. According to him, *ʃəfət* is a boat constructed from *tongolu* ‘balsa wood’. But *ʃəfət* can also be made from other materials such as *bimbilaj* ‘papyrus’. Another name for *ʃəfət* is *dʒəbəl*.

The traditional boats of Lake Zway are made from both *tongolu* ‘balsa wood’ and *bimbilaj* ‘papyrus’. The Zay use a strong fiber from the bark of a plant referred to as *ʔurintfila* to tie the *bimbilaj* in constructing their *ʃəfət*.

Fishermen of the Zay use a range of baits to catch fish. According to Zenebe, an insect known as *t’əlagəza* ‘caddis fly’ is bait for a significant number of fish varieties, including *ʔambazza* ‘catfish’. According to this informant, smaller fish species known as *ʃulunk’u* ‘minuscule fish, bait’ and *boʔle* ‘a small non-edible fish species’, both are by-catches, can also be used as baits. Particularly, *boʔle*, which is a bit bigger than *ʃulunk’u*, is the

⁹ cf. Ann., Ref. Informant 020

best bait for *ʔambazza* ‘catfish’, a fish species that is difficult to catch and which loves to eat bigger baits and preys even on *k’oroso*.

Spliethoff et al. (2009:21) confirms that fishermen of Lake Zway are trapping young fishes with beach seines near shores to use them as bait to catch *ʔambazza* ‘catfish’. Zay informants generally refer to smaller fishes as *kəratʃə* ‘undersized fishes’. Apart from their use as bait, the by-catches feed the birds hovering around, a scene that tourists enjoy. The fish provides food for not only birds and man alike, but also, to a certain extent, for dogs that feed on left over.

4.1.4 Food Prepared from Fish

The fishermen perform the traditional fish processing such as scaling, gutting and filleting. There are no special blades for doing so. They use the ground as a cutting board (cf. Picture 17 in Appendix 1). Women are observed to prepare and sale fish near the shores of the lake. The Zay prepare and eat fish in different ways, as indicated in Table 4.

Table 4 Fish Cuisine of the Zay

	Zay Name	Gloss
(a)	<i>flitto</i>	‘filleted fish’
(b)	<i>jədziri</i>	‘fish soup’
(c)	<i>jəzaj t’ubus</i>	‘toasted fish (as a snack)’
(d)	<i>ləbləb</i>	‘lightly cooked fish’
(e)	<i>tulumu t’ubus</i>	‘fried fish (usually tilapia)’
(f)	<i>tulumu wət’</i>	‘fish stew’

The major fish dishes include *tulumu t'ubus* 'fried fish (usually tilapia)' (cf. Picture 18 in Appendix 1), *jədziri* 'fish soup', *tulumu wət* 'fish stew', *flitto* 'filleted fish' (cf. Picture 19 in Appendix 1) and *ləbləb* 'lightly cooked fish' (cf. Picture 19 in Appendix 1). The newly introduced cuisine, *ləbləb* (cf. Picture 20 in Appendix 1), can be prepared from *flitto* or filets of catfish. Temesgen Wolde Meddhin (interview on 06-07-2014) also reckons another fish dish referred to as *yəzaj t'ubus* – a toasted fish to be eaten as a snack which is less easy to find these days.

Local hotel owners buy the processed fish for their own business at the shore of Lake Zway known as *girrisa*, aka pump station – a name taken from the huge water pump which irrigates the surrounding farms.

4.2 Description of Brewing among the Zay

There are various indigenous and traditional fermented home-brewed alcoholic beverages consumed by the many ethnolinguistic groups in Ethiopia. Whether all these beverages are indigenous and traditional to Ethiopia is debatable. Home-brewed beverages such as *t'alla* 'home-brewed beer', *t'ədɜ* 'mead' and *arək'i* 'arrack, anise liquor' are very common drinks in the country (Tadele et al. 2013:399). Until the 20th century, the traditional alcoholic drinks of the common Ethiopian population were fermented beverages such as *t'alla* 'home-brewed beer', *korəfe* 'home-brewed thick beer of northern Ethiopia' and *borde* 'unfermented home-brewed beer' that are made from cereals and *giŋo* 'buckthorn', while *t'ədɜ* 'mead', which is brewed from fermented honey and *giŋo* 'buckthorn', was consumed only by members of the upper class (Yeraswork and Ezana 2010:2-3).

Due to tremendous changes that cultural practices in Ethiopia had gone through, some parts of the unique cultural, historical and ecological knowledge have disappeared. Others have survived to date.

In this section, the basic ingredients essential to brew the Zay's traditional alcoholic beverage *?at'omok'u* 'thick home-brewed beer of the Zay', the production process and the associated usages of beverages among the Zay are described. Another common beverage, *?ajidari* 'the ordinary home-brewed beer of the Zay', is only briefly treated because it is almost identical to the Amharic *t'alla* 'home-brewed beer'. However, *?ajidari* has a different name and is made from *dagusa* 'finger millet' instead of barley, wheat, maize or sorghum which are used in other parts of Ethiopia.

Although the Zay are predominantly occupied with off-farm activities, they also farm their land to grow cereals, especially *dagussa* 'finger millet', which Henze (1972:80-81) describes as an important ingredient for their food and traditional beverages. In the occupational structure of the Zay, the cultural practice of brewing beverages is entirely carried out by women, except in cases of producing ingredients and some equipment.

One of the traditional beverages native to the Zay is *?at'omok'u* 'thick home-brewed beer of the Zay', but which is currently not prepared and consumed widely. It is usually brewed and drunk at the most respected religious festivity among the Zay – the annual *mask'al* celebration. According to the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, *māsk'al*, which is celebrated on September 27, marks the founding of the True Cross.

The other beverage is *?ajidari* 'the ordinary home-brewed beer of the Zay', which, as described by Assefa Midekso as "the ordinary *t'alla*" – whereas *t'alla* is an Amharic

word. Its Oromo and Tigrinya equivalents are *fərso* and *sīwa*, respectively. It is a kind of traditional homemade fermented alcoholic beverage which is not specific to a certain ethnolinguistic group in Ethiopia. The Zay beverage *ʔajidari*, which is essentially prepared from *dagusə* ‘finger millet’, is similar with *t’əlla* in many respects. It is available in almost all households at the islands where it is still an everyday drink. On the other hand, *ʔat’omok’u* was mainly consumed for recreational purposes, in marriages, religious and non-religious ceremonies, festivals and social gatherings. However, changes in the socio-economic status of the Zay forced a paradigm shift. Hence, *ʔajidari* has now become a drink in important occasions including matrimonial and religious festivals.

On a wedding party that the researcher attended in the village *Herera Laki* on 22 June 2013, *ʔajidari* was served by the host family. Its color and taste is more or less similar to *t’əlla*. Apart from *ʔajidari*, an industrially produced beverage was served at the wedding ceremony. Beer is a beverage that the villagers rarely consume unless they come to towns. Since the bride and groom were urban dwellers coming from Meki town, they had bought some crates of beer and transported it by boat all the way from Zway to the western fringe of the lake, at which the house of the bride’s family was situated.

Table 5 Ingredients for the Traditional Beverage ʔat’omok’u

	Zay Name	Gloss	Function
(a)	<i>bik’ıl</i>	‘germinated cereal’	malting
(b)	<i>dagusə</i>	‘finger millet’	used as malt in traditional beer making
(c)	<i>difdifə</i>	‘thick mash’	producing <i>ziht</i> ‘wort’

(d)	<i>giŋo</i>	‘buckthorn (<i>Rhamnus prinoides</i>)’	inhibiting bacteria growth, fermenting, and making the taste of the drink bitter
(e)	<i>k’itt’ə</i>	‘unleavened flatbread’	fermenting
(f)	<i>mit’mit’ə</i>	‘powder from dried chili’	flavoring and puffing effect
(g)	<i>tumə</i>	‘garlic’	flavoring and puffing effect
(h)	<i>ziht</i>	‘wort’	fermenting
(i)	<i>?unkurut</i>	‘roasted and steamed <i>dagussa</i> grist’	fermentation, coloration and producing the thick mash <i>difdifə</i>

The cereal, *dagusə* ‘finger millet’, first cultivated in the highlands of Ethiopia has spread across Africa where its principal use is to provide malt for making local beer and other alcoholic or non-alcoholic beverages (Wet 2006:61). However, the role that *dagusə* ‘finger millet’ played in the culture and socio-economic life of the Zay is not limited to providing malt. It was the major food cereal. According to Tesfaye (2000 E.C.:32), in times of food insecurity, the Zay use their reserves of *dagusə* ‘finger millet’ which they carefully store in a big *təgugu* ‘granary’ made up of cow dung. In order to keep *dagusə* ‘finger millet’ in reserve for a long time, it was taken from the granary in specific, well-calculated amounts based on traditional grain measuring units. Table 6 summarizes these units based on information provided by Adane Gemedā (interview on 28-09-2014).

Table 6 Traditional Grain Measuring Units

	Zay Name	Gloss
(a)	<i>?abəlk’it</i>	‘equivalent to 3.1 kg’
(b)	<i>dzaji</i>	‘equivalent to 12.5 kg or 4 <i>?abəlk’it</i> ’
(c)	<i>k’ul</i>	‘equivalent to 50 kg or 4 <i>dzaji</i> ’

(d)	<i>k'ul ?agβətʃ</i>	'equivalent to 75 kg'
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Nowadays, the Zay do not use *dagussa* as before, probably because of the changes in their livelihood, culture and eco-system.

According to Assefa Midekso (interview on 14-11-2013), *?at'omok'u* 'thick home-brewed beer of the Zay' is an all *dagussa* beverage which serves as malt but from which other ingredients are made, namely *bik'il* 'germinated cereal', *kitt'a* 'unleavened flatbread' (cf. Picture 20-24 in Appendix 1), and *?unkurut* 'roasted and steamed *dagussa* grist' (cf. Picture 25 in Appendix 1). Adane Gemedo (interview on 06-04-2014) reckons that *?at'omok'u* can also be prepared from other cereals, albeit he has never come across such a beverage. Thus, *dagussa* remains the essential ingredient in the preparation of *?at'omok'u*. Among the ingredients, *bik'il* 'germinated cereal' which has a malting effect is prepared from it. Furthermore, ground or grist *dagusə* 'finger millet' is made into a paste and baked on the *birət mit'ad* 'griddle'. This grist is steamed on the *bireət mit'ad* to make *?unkurut* – another ingredient needed to brew *?at'omok'u*. It is this steamed *dagussa* grist that is blended with *gifo*, *k'itt'a* and other ingredients and then left for 2 or 3 days for fermentation. The unleavened flatbread is also made up of *dagussa* grist. It is darkened by baking. After it is crumbled, it is added into the fluid made up of the other ingredients, i.e. flour from dried and pounded green leaves of *gifo* 'buckthorn' (cf. Picture 26 in Appendix 1), water and the grist from *bik'il*. Note that *gifo* is one of the unique Ethiopian cultivated plants. It is a shrub whose dried leaves are used not only as a fermenting agent but also as an element to inhibit bacteria growth and thereby helps to extend the shelf life of the product (Henze 2000:13; Berhanu 2014:364).

There are two ingredients in the material culture of the Zay that make the *ʔat'omok'u* beverage unique from other Ethiopian beverages of similar nature. These are *mit'mit'a*, a powder made from dried chili, and *tumə* 'garlic' chopped into small pieces which give the beverage a puffing effect.

The Zay use many traditional utensils for brewing their traditional beverage. Most of them are made from local raw materials, such as clay and wood. Clay containers are important in the material culture of the Zay. They have multitude purpose and their names depend on their size and function (cf. Picture 27-29 in Appendix 1). The main utensils used in brewing are presented in Table 7.

Table 7 Brewing Utensils of the Zay

	Zay Name	Gloss	Function
(a)	<i>bujit</i>	'narrow mouthed small clay jar'	storing wort or mash and reducing the thick mash
(b)	<i>tʃoftu</i>	'narrow mouthed clay jar'	fermenting mash
(c)	<i>ʔofəbət</i>	'medium clay jar'	vatting and mixing the water with the malt
(d)	<i>mawə</i>	'big clay jar'	vatting and mixing the water with the malt
(e)	<i>k'ilt'</i>	'dried shell of a gourd'	fermenting mash
(f)	<i>bīrət mit'ad</i>	'baking pan'	steaming the <i>ʔunkurut</i> and baking <i>k'itt'a</i> on it
(g)	<i>junkurdi jal</i>	'cow rib or flat blunt blade'	mixing <i>ʔunkurut</i>
(h)	<i>muk'ətfa</i>	'wooden mortar'	crushing ingredients
(i)	<i>ʔofit fətar</i> or	'sieve'	wet-sieving soft solid of the traditional beverage to a pulp

4.3 Main Linguistic Aspects of the Fishing and Brewing Vocabulary

4.3.1 Corpus

This section is concerned with linguistic aspects of the Zay fishing and brewing vocabulary, in particular with the effect of the bi- and multilingualism of its speakers. The analysis is based on the 15 minutes and 56 seconds voice-over narration audio file as text corpus with a wordlist of 1,327 words (tokens) on fishing and associated activities. In addition, a five minutes audio narration of 265 words (tokens) on brewing, which is transcribed but not annotated, is used. Additional data from field notes and elicitation sessions are included to support the analysis.

Zay is not a written language. It is used only in oral communications (Meyer 2006b:5). Thus, determining the relation of Zay with other languages in a situation where almost no written information is available is not an easy task. Therefore, native speakers were involved to determine whether words are native items or borrowings in Zay.

4.3.2 Sociolinguistic Situation

There are many forms of contact between Zay- Amharic- and Oromo-speakers. Zay and Amharic are genetically closely related Ethio-Semitic languages, while Oromo is a Cushitic language. As discussed in Chapter 1, Zay speakers use Amharic and/or Oromo in addition to their mother tongue. There are many factors that contributed to this bi- or multilingual setting. With the expansion of trade, plantations and manufacturing industries, many Amharic-speaking people came to Lake Zway and the nearby towns where Amharic became a lingua franca, which was also used in administration and education. This situation changed in 1991, when the Lake Zway area became part of

the Oromia Region. Consequently, Amharic was replaced by Oromo in most official domains. With regard to the Zay, this had the effect that Amharic as medium of instruction in primary education at schools was replaced by Oromo.

During the interview session with Assefa Midekso, my principal informant, and various elicitation sessions with other informants, the researcher observed that speakers alternate between their native language Zay and three additional languages, namely Amharic, Oromo and even English to a certain extent. For instance, Zay speakers, especially those of younger age, were observed to use the Amharic term *t'alla* and the Oromo term *farso* frequently and interchangeably for Zay *?ajidari* 'the ordinary home-brewed beer of the Zay'. However, nobody seems to be criticized for using loanwords from Amharic, Oromo or English when speaking Zay. Parents even excuse their children with almost no proficiency in Zay by alluding to the fact that they were not born on the islands – the only place where Zay is used extensively. In short, code switching to Amharic and Oromo or even to English is very common phenomenon in a Zay conversation.

4.3.3 Loanwords

Code switching as a result of extensive bi- and multilingualism among the Zay is probably the trigger for the integration of many loanwords from Amharic, Oromo and other foreign languages into Zay. Based on the corpus data, the following was observed:

Assefa Midekso, my principle informant, described the Zay fishing practices with 1,327 words or text tokens from which 283 text tokens (or 125 text types)¹⁰ are loans from Amharic, Oromo, English and French. 63 of the 125 text types appeared only once while the remaining 17 text types occurred twice or more times. The most frequently used loanword is the Amharic conjunction *wəjīm* or *wəjnīm* ‘or’ which appears 28 times (cf. Appendix 3). For the description of traditional brewing, Assefa Midekso used only 265 text tokens from which 84 text tokens or 49 text types are loanwords.

The texts show that certain loanwords are competing with native Zay expression and probably start to replace them. Cases in point are the Zay terms *mək’atīn* and *wək’ləmit*, both meaning ‘fishing hook’, which are often substituted by the Amharic term *mənt’əkk’o* with the same meaning. In his narration about the fishing culture of the Zay, my principal informant, Assefa Midekso, used the Amharic term *mənt’əkk’o* five times, but the Zay terms *mək’atīn* and *wək’ləmit* four and six times, respectively. Regarding nominal compounds¹¹ in Zay, the number of loanwords, like Amharic *bīrət mit’ad* ‘griddle’, seems even to exceed the number of native Zay words.

While there are plenty of loanwords from Amharic and Oromo, loanwords from English and probably French are rather restricted in number. The English loanwords in the data are listed in the following table:

¹⁰ For this statistics, the distinction between (text) tokens, i.e. the total number of words in a text, and (text) types, i.e. the number of different words in a text, is relevant here (cf. Richards and Schmidt 2002:567).

¹¹ Compounds are linguistic expressions that consist of at least two free morphemes or morpheme constructions (Bussmann 1996: 222).

Table 8 English Loanwords in Zay

	Loanword	Gloss
(a)	<i>lajnon</i>	‘rope made from nylon’
(b)	<i>metir</i>	‘unit for measuring distance’
(c)	<i>tfek</i>	‘check, verify’

These loanwords are easily integrated into Zay, as shown in the following example:

- (1) *ʔih tirmalla_mərəβ bə-lajnon kīr jisəralo*
 PRX net INST-nylon thread is_made_from
 ‘This *tirmalla* net is made from nylon thread.’

The English loanwords *lajnon* and *metir* occur due to the advent of new objects and ideas, not due to language contact. The term *lajnon* ‘rope made from nylon’ as a designation for a tough, lightweight, elastic synthetic polymer with a protein-like chemical structure and nylon fabric or yarn (Stevenson and Waite 2011:984) can be considered an indirect borrowing in Zay since it first was borrowed by the dominant language Amharic. It is one of the invented trade names for commercial products that become general terms. The other English loanword, *metir* ‘unit of measuring distance’, was mentioned by the principal informant four times in his narration. Although the Zay have various traditional measurement units, these terms have been replaced by new concepts and their foreign names like *metir*. This is especially obvious with the SI units such as *kilo* or *kilogram* which replaced the traditional grain measuring terms *ʔabalk’it*, *dzaji*, *k’ul* and *k’ul ʔagβətf* (see Table 6).

In contrast to these nouns, the English verb ‘check, verify’ is not simply integrated into Zay grammar, as verb conjugation is based on non-concatenative morphology.

Therefore, the English verb is combined with the Zay verb *saan* ‘make’ into the verbal compound, as in *tfek ji-sin-im* (check he-makes-and) ‘after he will have checked’, in which the English loanword *tfek* is invariable and the Zay verb is conjugated.

The French loanword *buf* ‘cork’ occurs twice in the narration about fishing. This word is believed to be first borrowed into Amharic and then transferred to Zay.

Thus, English and French loanwords are not directly borrowed into Zay but usually via Amharic.

4.3.4 Cognates

The lexical similarities observed between Zay and Oromo are most probably due to areal convergence, i.e. borrowing resulting from cultural contacts. This is, by and large, not true for similar or identical words between Zay and Amharic, taking into account that both languages belong to the Transversal Ethio-Semitic branch (Meyer 2005:21). That means the similarities between Zay and Amharic most probably resemble cognate items which both languages inherited from a common ancestor language. The presence of these cognates eases communication between speakers of the two languages. The data in Table 9 are some examples of Zay and Amharic cognates.

Table 9 Cognates between Zay and Amharic

	Zay	Amharic	Gloss
(a)	<i>jissərna</i>	<i>jisərall</i>	‘he works’
(b)	<i>jitbəsələl(o)</i>	<i>jibbəsəlall</i>	‘it will be cooked’
(c)	<i>jitb^wahal(o)</i>	<i>jibbokkall</i>	‘it will be fermented’
(d)	<i>jitfatʃəl(o)</i>	<i>jiffattʃall</i>	‘it will be grinded’

(e)	<i>jɪtk'orarəsəl(o)</i>	<i>jikk'orarrəsall</i>	'it will be crumbled'
(f)	<i>jɪwəddəlo</i>	<i>jɪwəddədəl</i>	'he will be loved'
(g)	<i>mək'at'in</i>	<i>mənt'əkk'o</i> (old <i>mək'at'in</i> – see below)	'fishing hook'
(h)	<i>ʔat'omok'u</i>	<i>t'əmmək'ə</i>	'thick home-brewed beer of the Zay' 'brew'

The meaning of the cognate items (a)–(f) in Table 9 can easily be guessed or are understood by Amharic and Zay speakers, which is attributed to the fact that both languages are genetically closely related, and, consequently, share a number of lexical and grammatical features. Even in cases like (h) in Table 9, where Amharic has no direct cognate equivalent for the Zay noun *ʔat'omok'u* 'thick home-brewed beer of the Zay', it has a cognate verb *t'əmmək'ə* 'brew', which also manifests the close genetic relationship between the two languages.

The Amharic term *mənt'əkk'o* 'fishing hook' (item (g) in Table 9), which is widely used nowadays, is probably a recent innovation. The Amharic term *mək'at'in* 'fishing hook', which is identical to the Zay term, is mentioned in Isenberg (1841:29). Moreover, Amharic-speaking fishermen of Lake *Tana* in northern Ethiopia use the term *mək'at'in* 'fishing hook' until today. The same term, *mək'at'in*, also occurs in Harari – whose speakers are believed to be historically and linguistically attached to the Zay (Tuma 1982:26ff.).

From an etymological point of view, it is obvious that the Zay words *giʃo* 'buckthorn', *bik'il* 'germinated cereal', and *ʔunkurut* 'roasted and steamed *dagussa* grist' are cognate with the Amharic words *geʃo*, *bik'il* and *inkuro*, respectively.

The brewing ingredient *dagussa* ‘finger millet’ is an example to further investigate the relationship of Zay with other languages. At the very outset, evidence as to the origin of the term *dagussa* – a cognate that Zay and Amharic share – as well as information about how and when it was first introduced to the culture of the Zay is lacking. Archeological research attests that *dagussa* was domesticated in the East African highlands, but not in the geographical area that the Zay live in. The oldest known archaeological remains of *dagussa* were excavated in Axum ca. 5,000 years ago (Wet 2006: 60). This leads to the assumption that the Zay imported both the plant and its name from northern Ethiopia. Hence, *dagussa* is more likely to be a loanword that the Zay borrowed from Amharic.¹² This assumption is supported by the fact that Zay phonology does not permit the short vowel [a] word finally (Meyer 2005: 44). However, it should be noted that this phonological rule could be violated due to a sound change as can often be observed through the different pronunciation of older and younger speakers in a community (Richards and Schmidt 2002:495).

There are plenty cognates that Zay shares with other Ethio-Semitic languages. Some of them are listed in the following table:

Table 10 Cognates between Zay and Other Ethio-Semitic Languages

	Zay Term	Gloss	Cognates
(a)	<i>səβ</i>	‘person’	<i>səβ</i> Kistane, Silt’e, Harari, Mesqan, Endegagn
(b)	<i>ʔin</i>	‘eye’	<i>ʔin</i> Kistane, Silt’e, Harari

¹² The term *dagussa* is not only borrowed by the Zay, but also by other Ethio-Semitic languages, including Amharic. According to Finneran (2007:89), the Amharic word *dagussa* is derived from the Cushitic Agaw language.

(c)	<i>ʔaf</i>	‘mouth’	<i>ʔaf</i> Kistane, Silt’e, Harari, Ge‘ez, Tigrinya
(d)	<i>ʔindzi</i>	‘hand’	<i>ʔindzi</i> Silt’e; <i>idzi</i> Harari
(e)	<i>dətʃi</i>	‘earth’	<i>dətʃi</i> Silt’e; <i>datʃi</i> Harari
(f)	<i>gar</i>	‘house’	<i>gar</i> Silt’e, Wolane
(g)	<i>k’ilat</i>	‘early morning’	<i>k’ilat</i> Silt’e, Wolane
(h)	<i>ʔawdə</i>	‘place’	<i>ʔawdə</i> Silt’e, Wolane
(i)	<i>ʔungə</i>	‘road’	<i>ʔungə</i> Silt’e, Wolane
(j)	<i>ʔajidari</i>	‘ordinary home-brewed beer’	<i>ʔajdar</i> Silt’e, Wolane
(k)	<i>bil</i>	‘work’	<i>bil</i> Silt’e, Wolane
(l)	<i>dər</i>	‘above’	<i>dər</i> Silt’e, Wolane
(m)	<i>jədziri</i>	‘fish soup’	<i>dziri</i> ‘boil in water’ Silt’e, Wolane
(n)	<i>ʃitit</i>	‘rope from yarn’	<i>ʃitit</i> Harari
(o)	<i>ʔint’et</i>	‘wood’	<i>ʔint’et</i> Harari
(p)	<i>tulumu</i>	‘fish’	<i>tulum</i> Harari

Some of the items in Table 10, like (a), (b), (c), have a wider distribution within Ethio-Semitic, while items, like (f), (g), (j), etc., are more specific for the Eastern Gurage language group, i.e. Zay, Silt’e and Wolane. A few items, like (n) and (p), seem to be restricted to Zay and Harari.

Nouns ending in the vowel *-u*, like *tulumu* ‘fish’ in (p), are more frequent in Zay than in any other Ethio-Semitic language (Leslau 1999: 48). Further examples for nouns ending in *-u* from the data are given in the following table:

Table 11 Zay Nouns Ending with the Vowel -u

	Zay	Gloss
(a)	<i>duru</i>	‘former time’
(b)	<i>k’ək’əbu</i>	‘small stone’
(c)	<i>ʃulunk’u</i>	‘minuscule fish, bait’

(d)	<i>tagugu</i>	‘granary’
(e)	<i>tongolu</i>	‘balsa wood’
(f)	<i>tʃoftu</i>	‘small clay jar’
(g)	<i>?at’omok’u</i>	‘thick home-brewed beer’

4.3.5 Origin and Alternative Use of Terms

The terms used in the nomenclature for fishing are of various origins. The term *bofofe* ‘balsa wood’, for instance, seems to originate from a sound symbolic expression related to the physical appearance of the plant. The same applies to the fish name *dubbe* (with the variants *debba* and *dubba*) ‘common carp’ which relates the fish’s physical appearance to the rounded form of a pumpkin. Another name for this species is *abba samuel*, which is probably the name of the owner of a manmade lake into which the fish was first introduced.

The nonnative fish species *kenija* ‘tilapia sp.’ is believed to be named after Kenya or Lake Kenya, although this information needs further study. There is some evidence that this fish species has introduced into the Bale lakes, Sibila, Chacha, Beresa and Muger rivers from Kenya by UNESCO (Ethiopian Institute of Biodiversity 2014).

Some fish names may originate from a term in a foreign language or have an opaque meaning, i.e. they convey no other semantic information than identifying the entity they designate (Zelalem 2011:58). The nonnative fish species *dzappe* ‘carassius’ is believed to have been coined in a foreign language, as with the name *kenija*. However, the informants could not provide any information as to the origin of the name *dzappe*. An opaque name is the term *tulumu* ‘fish’, which occurs only in Zay and Harari.

Multilingualism and cross-linguistic influence yielded a situation in which alternative terms are frequently used to denote the same entity. Thus, the two terms *kenija* and

ʔaddise are both designations for ‘*Tilapia zilli*’ while the three terms *dubbe*, *debba* and *dubba* represent ‘*Cyprinus carpio*’.

New terms are becoming more popular thereby creating word choice variation among informants. For example, the principal informant prefers *tongolu* over *bofofe* both meaning ‘balsa wood’. However, *tongolu* seems to be specific to Zay while *bofofe* is more popular among Oromo and Amharic speakers.

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusion and Recommendations

This study contributes to the preservation of the Zay language and the culture by documenting lexical expressions and cultural practices related to fishing and brewing. In a situation where language and cultural extinction is eminent and knowledge is passed on orally from generation to generation with almost no recorded texts about local fishing and brewing traditions, it also plays a vital role in preserving the indigenous knowledge.

The study documented fishing and brewing as cultural practices for earning the livelihood through primary data collection, description and analysis. The documentation employed different tools and softwares to process and digitalize the data.

The vocabulary used for fishing and brewing in Zay and its associate usages in linguistic repertoires was documented based on a wordlist and other linguistic data obtained from elicitations and observed communicative events. Analyzing the vocabulary for fishing and brewing revealed that there are situations in which alternative terms of fishing and brewing are frequently used to denote the same entity.

Multilingualism and cross-linguistic influence played a significant role not only for the change in the vocabulary used in the registers for fishing and brewing, but also have a deep impact on the unique cultural, historical, and ecological knowledge of the Zay embedded in those two important cultural practices. The influence of the dominant culture on the Zay minority resulted in the adoption of cultural practices, including food rites. As a result, the socio-historical importance of fishing is diminishing. The

same is true for brewing, especially of the traditional beverage native to the Zay, *ʔat'omok'u* 'thick home-brewed beer of the Zay', which currently is not widely prepared and consumed.

Based on the study, the following measures to be taken are recommended:

- Members of the ethnolinguistic group and administrative units in the area should be made aware about the endangerment of the language and the unique cultural, historical, and ecological knowledge embedded in it;
- Based on the preferences the community further studies, documentation, preservation, revitalization and empowerment of the Zay language and culture should be undertaken;
- Interested members of the Zay ethnolinguistic group should be encouraged and permitted to study their language and culture, and teach them to their children;
- In order to maintain the history and unique culture of the Zay that flourished on Lake Zway and its islands for centuries, efforts of environmental protection and proper utilization of natural resources, such as fish, should be strengthened and interfaced with indigenous knowledge.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Photographs of Fishing and Brewing Activities



Picture 1: A fisherman mending a damaged fishnet sitting by the shore of Lake Zway. This kind of task is commonly carried out by men.



Picture 2: A Zay man filleting the fish that he captured by the shore of Lake Zway, Mek'i town.



Picture 3: *k'oroso* 'Oreochromis niloticus'.

Courtesy:

<http://trophs.com/forums/showthread.php?t=19303>



Picture 4: *dubbe* or *debba* or *dubba* 'Cyprinus carpio'.



Picture 5: *kenija* 'Tilapia zilli'



Picture 6: *dzappe* 'Carassius Sp.'



Picture 7: *ʔambazza* 'Clarias gariepinus'



Picture 8: *mək'at'in* 'fishhook'



Picture 9: A Zay boy fishing with a *mək'at'in* 'fishhook', fishing rod made from reed and fish line at the swampy part of Lake Zway, near Boch'essa



Picture 10: Fish eating birds of Lake Zway



Picture 11: *ʃəfət* 'canoe'



Picture 12: Net fishing in Lake Zway



Picture 13: *tongolu* ‘balsa wood’ grown by the shore of the lake, Zway town



Picture 14: A man collecting fish that he caught using *tirmalla*



Picture 15: *borrata*



Picture 16: Zay men rowing a boat before they cast the heavy net, *borrata*, which requires three persons to operate.



Picture 17: A fisherman performs the traditional fish processing using the ground as a cutting board



Picture 18: One of the major fish dishes: *tulumu t’ubus* ‘fried fish (from tilapia)’



Picture 19: *flitto* 'filleted fish'



Picture 20: *lāblāb* 'lightly cooked fish'

Courtesy:

<https://aboutaddisababa.wordpress.com>



Picture 21: Dough used to bake *kitt'a* 'unleavened flatbread' being kneaded



Picture 22: Kneaded dough being baked on the *birāt mit'ad* 'griddle'



Picture 23: *kitt'a* 'unleavened flatbread' which is baked until it is darkened and a little dried



Picture 24: *kitt'a* 'unleavened flatbread' being crumbled



Picture 25: *ʔunkurut* ‘roasted and steamed *dagussa* grist’



Picture 26: *gifo* ‘buckthorn’ courtesy: <http://www.yelp.com>



Picture 27: *bujit* ‘narrow mouthed clay jar’



Picture 28: *ʔofərbət* ‘medium clay jar’



Picture 29: Wooden mortar used for pounding *gifo* ‘buckthorn’

Appendix 2: List of Informants

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Occupation	Current Address	Additional Information
1	Mr. Aseffa Midekso	Male	41	School teacher	Meki	
2	Mr. Temesgen Woldemedhin	Male	35	Ophthalmic nurse	Addis Ababa	He is born at <i>Tullu Guddo</i> . He has basic understanding of phonetic representation of his language. He has also profound experience as native speaker consultant.
3	Mr. Bonso Jima	Male	50	Fisher and farmer	Tullu Guddo	
4	Mrs. Belyu Mamo	Female	60	House wife	Tullu Guddo	She has good knowledge of food preparation and brewing.
5	Mr. Kefeni Tufa	Male	60	Farmer	Walda Maqdala	(place near Meki)
6	Mr. Adane Gameda	Male	50	Civil servant	Meki	He is born at <i>Tullu Guddo</i> and has good knowledge of the Zay

						language, culture and history.
7	Mr. Afework Gebrehanna	Male	50	Boat operator	Zway	
8	Mrs. Nafqot Obso	Female	45	Small scale business of catering	Zway	She is the wife and mother of informants (7) and (9), respectively. She prepares and sells food by the shore of Lake Zway. She is born at <i>Tullu Guddo</i>
9	Zenebe Afework	Male	22	Boat operator	Zway	He is born at <i>Tullu Guddo</i> . His Zay language proficiency is said to be better than that of other men in his age.

Appendix 3: List of Amharic and Oromo Loanwords

Amharic loanwords

- (1) *ʔaddis* ‘new’
- (2) *ʔak’im* ‘capacity’
 - a. *ʔak’imu* ‘the capacity’
- (3) *ʔakababi* ‘area’
- (4) *ʔaləf* ‘past, passing’
- (5) *ʔamatf* ‘brother-in-law’
- (6) *ʔambaza* ‘catfish’
- (7) *ʔihil* ‘grain’
- (8) *ʔimbəzam* ‘not that much’
- (9) *ʔindəminim* ‘anyhow, somehow’
- (10) *ʔinna* ‘and’
- (11) *ʔindəgəna* ‘again’
- (12) *ʔingdih* ‘then’
- (13) *ʔirk’ət* ‘distance’
- (14) *ʔiskə* ‘up to’
- (15) *bahil* ‘culture’
 - a. *bahilawi* ‘cultural’
- (16) *bahun* ‘by now’
 - a. *bahunu* ‘by the time now’
- (17) *bəbzat* ‘by a large amount’
- (18) *bəduro* ‘by the former time’
- (19) *bəkk’a* ‘that is enough’
- (20) *bək’ətfin* ‘by a thin (thing)’
- (21) *bəməhal* ‘in the middle’
- (22) *bəməkina* ‘by a vehicle’
- (23) *bəmətf’ərəfa* ‘at the end’
- (24) *bərgit* ‘of course’
- (25) *bərik’ət* ‘by a distance’
- (26) *bəsəffi* ‘by the wide(side)’
- (27) *bət’am* ‘very’
- (28) *biltf’a* ‘barbus’
- (29) *dagussa* ‘finger millet’
 - a. *bədagussa* ‘by finger millet’
- (30) *dar* ‘fringe’
- (31) *dəbir* ‘vicinity’
- (32) *dəgmo* ‘as well, again’
 - a. *dəmmo* ‘as well’
- (33) *dəzəlbə* ‘boat’
 - a. *bədzəlbə* ‘by boat’
 - b. *jədzəlbə* ‘boat’s’
- (34) *dəzonija* ‘sack’
 - a. *bədzonijaj* ‘by a sack’
- (35) *fətil* ‘yarn’
- (36) *fire* ‘fruit, seed’
- (37) *gin* ‘but’
- (38) *gize* ‘time’
- (39) *gobəz* ‘strong’
- (40) *gomma* ‘tyre’
- (41) *gon* ‘side, corner’
- (42) *guddaj* ‘issue’
- (43) *jamət’al* ‘he brings’
- (44) *jaw* ‘that is, you know’
- (45) *jəhonə* ‘that happened’
- (46) *jih* ‘this’
- (47) *jisəral* ‘he works’
- (48) *k’irs* ‘heritage’
- (49) *k’oroso* ‘tilapia’
- (50) *kətf’in* ‘thin’
- (51) *kəza* ‘next’
- (52) *kibb* ‘circle’
- (53) *kir* ‘thread’
- (54) *lajnon* ‘nylon’
 - a. *bəlajnan* ‘by nylon’
- (55) *lela* ‘another’
- (56) *ləmin* ‘why’

- (57) *ləwədəfitu* ‘for the future’
 (58) *ləwist* ‘for inside’
 (59) *lifat* ‘tiredness’
 (60) *mədʒəmmərija* ‘first, beginning’
 a. *jəmədʒəmmərija* ‘the first’
 (61) *mək’at’in* ‘fish hook’
 (62) *məlləja* ‘identification’
 (63) *mənt’əkk’o* ‘fishing hook’
 a. *bəmənt’əkk’o* ‘by a fishing hook’
 b. *jəmənt’ək’o* ‘fish hook’
 (64) *mərəβ* ‘fishing net’
 (65) *mət’ət* ‘drink’
 a. *mət’ət’u* ‘the drink’
 (66) *milikit* ‘sign’
 (67) *minalbat* ‘maybe’
 (68) *mit’mit’a* ‘dried bird’s chili’
 (69) *nəgər* ‘thing’
 a. *nəgəru* ‘the thing’
 (70) *nətʃʃɪnkurt* ‘garlic’
 (71) *nəw* ‘is’
 (72) *səʔat* ‘hour’

- (73) *sira* ‘work’
 (74) *t’int* ‘ancient’
 (75) *wədə* ‘towards’
 (76) *wəgən* ‘side’
 (77) *wəjɪm* ‘or’
 (78) *wist* ‘in’

Oromo loanwords

- (79) *ʔababoja* ‘our great grandfather’
 (from Oromo *ababo* ‘ancestor, great grandfather’)
 a. *jababoja* ‘our ancestor, our grandfather’
 (80) *ʔajajuja* ‘our mother’ (from Oromo *ajjo* ‘mother’)
 a. *jajajojə* ‘our grandmother’
 (81) *ʔega* ‘to wait’
 (82) *dima* ‘red’

Appendix 4: Annotation

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Friday, December 31, 2014 1:23 AM

Ref. Informant	001
Phonetic Informant	tulumu bəməj wist' jinzubjal ʔungagtʃə
Morpheme Informant	tulumu(n.) bəməj(n.) wist'(prep.) jinzubjal(adj.) ʔungagtʃə(n.)
Gloss Informant	Fish by water in catching methods
FT Informant	Methods of catching fish in the water.
Ref. Informant	002
Phonetic Informant	tulumu bəməj wist' jinzubjal ʔungagtʃə biznu
Morpheme Informant	tulumu(n.) bəməj(n.) wist'(prep.) jinzubjal(adj.) ʔungagtʃə(n.) biznu(v.)
Gloss Informant	Fish by water in catching methods are many
FT Informant	The methods to catch fish from water are many.
Ref. Informant	003
Phonetic Informant	bihanmi tulumu jinzubjal hojtin gididirə ʔungagtʃə ʔoluməlo.
Morpheme Informant	bihanmi(adv.) tulumu(n.) jinzubjal(adj.) hojtin gididirə(adj.) ʔungagtʃə(n.) ʔoluməlo(v.)
Gloss Informant	However fish catching two main methods are there But the main methods to catch fish are two.
Ref. Informant	004
Phonetic Informant	ʔinomumi jəsirij məkat'in jiblijalej.
Morpheme Informant	ʔinomumi(v.) jəsirij(adj.) məkat'in(n.) jiblijalej(v.)
Gloss Informant	they are of former time fishhook called

FT Informant	One of them, which is ancient, is called məkat'in 'fishhook'
Ref. Informant	005
Phonetic Informant	jahuj dəmo məŋt'ək'o jisirij jəndzi mərəβ waʔn tirmallə waʔn jədzəlbaj mərəβ wəjnm borətaj jiblumunaləj
Morpheme Informant	jahuj(adj.) dəmo(conj.) məŋt'ək'o(n.) jisirij(adj.) jəndzi(adj.) mərəβ waʔn(conj.) tirmallə(n.) waʔn(conj.) jədzəlbaj(adj.) mərəβ(n.) wəjnm(conj.) borətaj(n.) jiblumunaləj(v.)
Gloss Informant	of now as well hook of former time of hand fishnet and seine net and of boat fishnet or beach seine they are called
FT Informant	The recent one is called məŋt'ək'o. There is also a fishnet that is called hand net, which is an ancient one, tirmalə and borretaj, which is a net operated from a boat.
Ref. Informant	006
Phonetic Informant	jɪnatʃu mutʃatʃu tulumu lowenzatn bət'amin hizbi jəzaj seβ jit'ək'əmbomalej
Morpheme Informant	jɪnatʃu(pron.) mutʃatʃu(n.) tulumu(n.) lowenzatn bət'amin(adv.) hizbi(n.) jəzaj(n.) seβ(n.) jit'ək'əmbomalej(v.)
Gloss Informant	these equipment fish to catch it is very people of Zaj person that they use
FT Informant	The Zaj frequently use these equipment to catch fish.
Ref. Informant	007
Phonetic Informant	ʔinatʃuto ʔahuj bidərəni jit'ək'əsmuj wəj dəgmo jətulumuj mutʃatʃu jəɲaj səβ wəjim jəzaj səβ tulumu lowenzat ʔinatʃunət ʔahuj bihi dərəni gidərani tulumuj mutʃatʃu jit'ək'əmalə
Morpheme Informant	ʔinatʃuto(adj.) ʔahuj(adv.) bidərəni(preposition) jit'ək'əsmuj(v.) wəjdəgmo(conj.) jətulumuj(adj.) mutʃatʃu(n.) jəɲaj(possessive) səβ(n.) wəjim(conj.) jəzaj(adj.) səβ(n.) tulumu(n.) lowenzat(v.) ʔinatʃunət(det.) ʔahuj(adv.) bihi(adv.) dərəni(adv.) gidərani(v.) tulumuj(n.) mutʃatʃu(n.) jit'ək'əmalə(v.)
Gloss Informant	These now from above that I mentioned or as well of fish equipment ours person or of Zaj person fish to catch these now from here the

	above to hold of fish equipment they use
FT Informant	Our people, the Zay, use these main fishing equipment which I mentioned above.
Ref. Informant	008
Phonetic Informant	ʔilhaneji jəsirij mək'at'in jublijalej ʔajiku jisorijalehum latent'r latent'irm ledahumo
Morpheme Informant	jəsirij(adj.) mək'at'in(n.) jublijalej(v.) ʔajiku(adv.) jisorijalejhum(v.) latent'r(v.)
Gloss Informant	because of this the earliest fishhook' that is called how can be produced I making it short
FT Informant	I am telling you briefly how this earliest fishhook can be produced.
Ref. Informant	009
Phonetic Informant	latent'irm ledahumo
Morpheme Informant	latent'irm(v.) ledahumo(v.)
Gloss Informant	and I make it shorter let me tell you
FT Informant	Let me briefly tell you how it can be produced.
Ref. Informant	010
Phonetic Informant	jih mək'at'ini bək'ətʃin ʔint'et fətɪl waʔin wək'ləmiti wək'ləmit bojit bəamarɪna mənt'əkk'o jɪblijalej badətʃi jogdin
Morpheme Informant	jih(pron.) mək'at'ini(n.) bək'ətʃin ʔint'et fətɪl waʔin(conj.) wək'ləmiti(n.) wək'ləmit(n.) bojit(n.) bəamarɪna(n.) mənt'əkk'o jɪblijalej badətʃi jogdin
Gloss Informant	This the fishhook by thin wood yarn and the fishhook that looks like safety pin fishhook that looks like safety pin means by Amharic fishhook that is called at one location after it is tied
	This fishhook, which is called mənt'əkk'o in Amharic, with its thin wooded rod and a fishing line made with yarn is tied to its one end while its other end is attached to the hook so that it can be knotted.
FT Informant	

Ref. Informant	011
Phonetic Informant	hadəj k'ətʃ'e ʔahmi təməka'tini bad jatrohbm jikot'rilo
Morpheme Informant	hadəj(adj.) k'ətʃ'tʃ'e ʔahmi təməka'tini bad jatrohbm jikot'rilo
Gloss Informant	the one end as well with the fishhook with it will be it will be knotted
FT Informant	One of its ends as well will be knotted with the fishhook.
Ref. Informant	012
Phonetic Informant	bihi jandələni bəwək'ləmitij ʔagəzej jat'oluk'bim bəwek'ləmitij bujɪtnum ʔagəzej jat'oluk'bim jeməj wist' jɪt'lilo bəwək'ləmitij ʔagəzej jat'oluk'bim bəwek'ləmitij bujɪtnum ʔagəzej jat'oluk'bim jeməj wist' jɪt'lilo
Morpheme Informant	bihi jandələni ʔagəzej(n.) jat'oluk'bim bəwek'ləmitij bujɪtnum ʔagəzej jat'oluk'bim jeməj bəwək'ləmitij ʔagəzej jat'oluk'bim bəwek'ləmitij bujɪtnum ʔagəzej jat'oluk'bim(n.) jeməj wist'(prep.) jɪt'lilo(v.)
Gloss Informant	after this after the caddisfly that means the caddisfly in the fish the caddisfly to eat with the fishhook that looks like safety pin the caddis fly they insert through it and by the fish hook that looks like safety pin that means caddis fly they insert through it and into water in they will throw it
FT Informant	Next, they insert cadisfly as a bite and toss this baited fishhook into the lake.
Ref. Informant	013
Phonetic Informant	tulumuj ʔagəzej libəli bəwək'ləmiti bafni jəsənəgi fətlej wəjnm kirij jatljawəslej tulumuj jinzijal seβ mək'at'nej dər jənək'ələgi wək'ləmiti bətulumu ʔaf jəsəhm jinzeilo
Morpheme Informant	tulumuj(n.) ʔagəzej libəli(v.) bəwək'ləmiti(n.) bafni(n.) jəsənəgi(v.) fətlej(n.) wəjnm(conj.) kirij(n.) jatljawəslej(v.) tulumuj(n.) jinzijal(adj.) seβ(n.) mək'at'nej(n.) dər(adv.) jənək'ələgi(v.) wək'ləmiti(n.) bətulumu(n.) ʔaf(n.) jəsəhm(v.) jinzeilo(v.)

Gloss Informant	the fish the caddis fly to eat by the fishhook that looks like safety pin by its(his) mouth the time it(he) puts it the yarn or the thread the time it(he) moves it the fish that catches person the fishhook above when he uplifts the fishhook that looks like safety pin by fish mouth after it is pierce through he will catch it
FT Informant	When a fish puts the baited fishhook in its mouth to eat the cadisfly, the line starts vibrating and the fisherman casts out the fishhook; as a result the fishhook pierces the mouth of the fish so that it can be captured.
Ref. Informant	014
Phonetic Informant	bitəj ʔuŋgə jaɡragibm jisəɾəlo
Morpheme Informant	bitəj(det.) ʔuŋgə(n.) jaɡragibm(v) jisəɾəlo(v.)
Gloss Informant	by this method by repeating he does (will do)
FT Informant	Using the same method, he does the same job frequently.
Ref. Informant	015
Phonetic Informant	hadej tulumu jawət'agi ʔuttin binjzəm bəsəhə ʔiŋdəgəna dəgmo ʔagəzej jami wək'ləmiti jabəlm wəjinm ʔagəzej bəwk'ləmiti jisəhbim ʔiŋdəgəna jiməj dhalo
Morpheme Informant	hadej(adj.) tulumu(n.) jawət'agi(v.) ʔuttin(det.) binjzəm(v.) bəsəhə(v.) ʔiŋdəgəna dəgmo(conj.)(conj.) ʔagəzej(n.) jami the one of fish when he pulls that of he caught he pierced once more as well the caddis fly that is the fishhook that looks like safety pin to feed or the caddis fly by the fishhook that looks like safety pin
Gloss Informant	After catching a fish. he as well pierce the fishhook through the worm and leave.
FT Informant	
Ref. Informant	016
Phonetic Informant	ʔinej bəwagragəb bəwagragəb jɪtfatʃ'ijalah binzə ɡarəni wəjnəm lijasund ibə k'ələ bujɪtnu
Morpheme Informant	ʔinej(pron.) bəwagragəb bəwagragəb jɪtfatʃ'ijalah binzə(v.)ɡarəni wəjnəm(conj.) lijasund ibə k'ələ

Gloss Informant	this one by repeating by repeating enough for him after he caught to his home or to go
FT Informant	Before he goes to his home catching as enough amount of fish as he he want, he repeates this task.
Ref. Informant	017
Phonetic Informant	ʔihi bil wəjnm sira bədidə bəwək'anən bajandələni bəʃfət' dər joggobatim jiwəsrit jɪtʃ'alinal
Morpheme Informant	ʔihi bil wəjnm(conj.) sira bədidə bəwək'anən bajandələni bəʃfət' dər(adv.) joggobatim jiwəsrit jɪtʃ'alinal wəjnm(conj.) jak'olinal
Gloss Informant	this task or work outside by standing otherwise by canoe above by sitting to work it can be be or able to
FT Informant	This task can be carried out either standing outside the lake or sitting on a canoe.
Ref. Informant	018
Morpheme Informant	bəhojtim ʔuŋgə jisəɾəl bəhojtnum
Morpheme Informant	bəhojtim ʔuŋgə(n.) jisəɾəl(v.)bəhojtnum
FT Informant	It can be done using both methods.
Ref. Informant	019
Phonetic Informant	hadi jaw bodidə bowək'anənim mək'at'nej jəməj wist' bolah
Morpheme Informant	hadi jaw bodidə bowək'anənim mək'at'nej jəməj wist'(prep.) bolah
Gloss Informant	the one that is out by standing the fishhook to water in by sending
FT Informant	First, he just stands stands outside and tosses the fishhook into the water.
Ref. Informant	020
Phonetic Informant	bəhojtɪna dəgmo bəʃəfət' dər jəməj wist' bowək't'əf bowbatim tulumu jɪtgəɳal ʔakababi wəjim dətʃi
Morpheme Informant	bəhojtɪna dəgmo(conj.) bəʃəfət' dər(adv.) jəməj wist'(prep.) bowək't'əf bowbatim tulumu(n.) jɪtgəɳal ʔakababi wəjim dətʃi

Gloss Informant	by second as well by canoe above to water in by rowing fish can be found area or place
FT Informant	Second, he can catch fish by tossing his fishhook sitting on a canoe and rowing it to parts of the water that the fish are available.
Ref. Informant	021 mæk'atnej jəməj wist' bot'al wəjinm dəgmo bəʃəfət' jidəragobm tulumu jinjzil bujtnu
Phonetic Informant	
Morpheme Informant	mæk'atnej jəməj wist'(prep.) bot'al wəjinm(conj.) dəgmo(conj.) bəʃəfət' jidəragobm tulumu(n.) jinjzil bujtnu
Gloss Informant	fishhook to water in by throwing or as well by canoe by sitting fish will catch that means
FT Informant	He can catch fish by either by throwing his fishhook from ground or by sitting on a canoe.
Ref. Informant	022 jih ʔiŋgdih baŋtʃ'rni siləmæk'at'in guddaj ʔassəramənni ʔajku jisɔrjalehum ʔajku dəmo tulumu jinzubijalehum ʔinej timəsɪl
Phonetic Informant	
Morpheme Informant	jih(pron.) ʔiŋgdih(adv.) baŋtʃ'rni(adv.) siləmæk'at'in(n.) guddaj ʔassəramənni ʔajku(adv.) jisɔrjalehum
Gloss Informant	this then by short about the fishhook issue how it can be produced how it can work
FT Informant	This is a short description of fishhooks and how they are produced and used to catch fish.
Ref. Informant	023 mæk'atnej jəməj wist' bot'al wəjinm dəgmo bəʃəfət' jidəragobm tulumu jinjzil bujtnu
Phonetic Informant	

Morpheme Informant	mək'atnej jəməj wist'(prep.) bot'al wəjinm(conj.) dəgmo(conj.) bəʃəfət' jidəragobm tulumu(n.)
Gloss Informant	fishhook to water in by throwing or as well by canoe by sitting fish
FT Informant	The can be caught by the fishhook that is thrown into the water either from the land or the canoe.
Ref. Informant	024
Phonetic Informant	hojtəpaj ʔuŋgə jəzəmənaj ʔuŋgə bilbilnemij jətʃigirjabi məŋt'ək'o jitbeɲinaləj tulumu loweŋzat ʔihij mutʃa ʔiskə hoj bək'il metir waʔin botinmi dərəni gudərna linəbrej jak'əlhinəlo gudərnani ʔiskə hoj bək'il wətim direni lihanak'əlhna ʔinej məŋt'ək'o jisorigi
Morpheme Informant	hojtəpaj ʔuŋgə(n.) jəzəmənaj ʔuŋgə(n.) bilbilnemij jətʃigirjabi məŋt'ək'o(n.) jitbeɲinaləj tulumu(n.) loweŋzat ʔihij(pron.) mutʃa ʔiskə hoj bək'il metir waʔin botinmi dərəni gudərna linəbrej jak'əlhinəlo gudərnani ʔiskə hoj bək'il botim direni lihanak'əlhna ʔinej((pron.) məŋt'ək'o(n.) jisorigi
Gloss Informant	the second one method the modern method that we call though hook that is called fish to catch this equipment upto two hundred meter and even from it the above length can have can be the length upto two
FT Informant	hundred even from this cabn be this one hook when its made
Ref. Informant	The second method which we call the modern method is mənt'əkk'o, a fishing instrument it might have a length of two hundred or more meters.
Phonetic Informant	bisadad metir ʔirk'ət məŋt'ək'oji jik'ot'rujbilo
Morpheme Informant	bisadad metir(n.) ʔirk'ət məŋt'ək'oji(n.) jik'ot'rujbilo(v.)
Gloss Informant	every one meter distance the hook will be knotted to it
FT Informant	While preparing this fishhook, hooks are attached to the fishing line at a distance of one meter each.

Ref. Informant	026
Phonetic Informant	bəməŋt'ək'oj ʔagəz wəjinm tul jabulin bəməj dər jīt'lilo
Morpheme Informant	bəməŋt'ək'oj ʔagəz wəjinm(conj.) tul jabolin bəməj dər(adv.) jīt'lilo
Gloss Informant	by the hook caddis fly or worm after they feed it by water above throw
FT Informant	The fishermen pierce baits or worms through those hooks and toss them to the water.
Ref. Informant	027
Phonetic Informant	bəməj dər bət'oli jət'alej seβ bitʃa wəjinm tulumu jinzalej seβ bitʃa k'ilat jihidm ʔijaŋdandəni jīhadhadəni ʔuttin wək'ləmitʃa tʃeksɪnm wəjinm jinək'lim tulumuj liləbi tulumu jinək'lal
	bəməj dər(adv.)bət'oli jət'alej seβ(n.) bitʃa wəjinm(conj.) tulumu(n.) jinzalej seβ(n.) bitʃa k'ilat jihidm ʔijaŋdandəni jīhadhadəni ʔuttin wək'ləmitʃa tʃeksɪnm wəjinm(conj.) jinək'lim tulumuj(n.)
Morpheme Informant	laləbi(v.) tulumu(n.) jinək'lal
	by water above after it is threw the one who threw person only or fish who catches person only
Gloss Informant	dawn will go and each of that of the fishhooks that look like safety pin after he checks them out or after he picks them out the fish if there is fish he picks it (will pick it)
FT Informant	The next morning the fisherman checks out each fishhook he tossed, if fish is captured he will pick it.
Ref. Informant	028
Phonetic Informant	tulumu liləbi tulumu bədərəni bəwək'lemiti dər lal jakum jadgel
	tulumu(n.) liləbi(v.) tulumu(n.) bədərəni(adv.) bəwək'lemiti(n.) dər(adv.) lal jakum jadgel
Morpheme Informant	
Gloss Informant	fish if there is nothing fish above it by the fishhook that looks like safety pin above if there how he leaves it(he will leave it)
FT Informant	If no is fish baited he will leave it as it was or he will pierce the worm

through the fishhook as well.

Ref. Informant 029

Phonetic Informant biləbi dəgmo jabəlim tul jabəlim lagejs jazəgadʒm jadgəjlo

Morpheme Informant biləbi dəgmo(conj.)jabəlim tul jabəlim lagejs jazəgadʒm jadgəjlo

Gloss Informant if there is no in it as well he feeds it(will feed it)worm he feeds it(will feed it)for tomorrow he prepares(will prepare) he leaves (will leave)it as it was

FT Informant He will make it ready for the next day fishing after he baited the fishhook.

Ref. Informant 030

bitəj ʔuŋgə jisəral bujɪtnu

Phonetic Informant

Morpheme Informant bitəj ʔuŋgə(n.) jisəral bujɪtnu(v.)

Gloss Informant by this method it will be done that means

FT Informant It is carried out like this.

Ref. Informant 031

Phonetic Informant ʔihi bərgit' ʔahun jəmət' bək'ərəni ʔunku bəsirij jənaro

Morpheme Informant ʔihi(pron.) bərgit' ʔahun jəmət' bək'ərəni ʔunku bəsirij jənaro

Gloss Informant this of course now that came if not of now of former times not there

FT Informant Of course this method is a recently introduced method, not an ancient one.

Ref. Informant 032

Phonetic Informant jisirij jaflaj bahuj məhuj mək'at'inej mək'at'in jiblinejalehum ʔihij t'itəni k'urbɪn gize jəmət'a jəmeŋt'ək'o jəblijale bujɪtnu

Morpheme Informant jisirij jaflaj bahuj məhuj mək'at'inej(n.) mək'at'in(n.) jiblinejalehum ʔihij(pron.) t'itəni(adj.) k'urbɪn(adj) gize(n.) jəmət'a jəmeŋt'ək'o(n.) jəblijale bujɪtnu(v.)

Gloss Informant	of former time the former by now the fishhook fishhook as we call it this small recent time that came of hook that is called that means
FT Informant	This gear is introduced very recently.
Ref. Informant	033
Phonetic Informant	lela bowtirəni ʃəʃtəpaj ʔuŋgə jəsirij wəjinm jəduru jəababopaj jəakakəpupaj ʔinakepə jisurbij jənarej jəindzi mərəβ tihan ʔihi mərəβ jisərbijalej bəkərer k'əpit kirij bakorərij jək'əpit kirij bowat'ələləf tihan
Morpheme Informant	lela(pron.) bowtirəni ʃəʃtəpaj ʔuŋgə(n.) jəsirij wəjinm(conj.) jəduru(adj.) jəababopaj(n.) jəakakəpupaj(n.) ʔinakepə jisurbij jənarej jəindzi mərəβ(n.) tihan ʔihi (pron.) mərəβ(n.) jisərbijalej bəkərer k'əpit(n.) kirij bakorərij(adj.) jək'əpit(n.) kirij(n.) bowat'ələləf tihan
Gloss Informant	other the third method of former times or the ancient method of our fathers of our great grand fathers of our grandfathers by which they worked which was of hand fishnet while it is this fishnet it is made by thinly spun weft thread that is spun of weft thread by interlacing while it is that came of hook that is called that means
FT Informant	The third method by which our fathers, grandfathers and great grandfathers used to carry out fishing is a hand net that is interlaced from thinly spun weft .
Ref. Informant	034
Phonetic Informant	bədzmirti ʔakababi wəjinm dʒimrt jədzimorigi titəbīb bədzigta tisəfi ʔihidalo
Morpheme Informant	bədzmirti(adj.) ʔakababi(n.) wəjinm(conj.) dʒimrt(n.) jədzimorigi(v.) titəbīb(v.) bədzigta(adv.) tisəfi(v.) ʔihidalo(v.)
Gloss Informant	at the beginning area or beginning when it is begun becomes narrower and gradually becomes wider it goes
FT Informant	The interlacing begins narrowly and widens up at the end
Ref. Informant	035
Phonetic Informant	mərəβej jowat'ələləfi bəbitʃ bədzimirtij kətʃ'tʃ'e kətʃin fitit kətʃin fitit

	tijogud
	bəmətʃ'ərəʃaj wəjinm dægmo bæadi wəgən bəssəfij wəgən k'atʃ'e t'it'itʃə ʔumun wəjm k'ək'əbu jublihalej bəzajijɲə k'ək'əbu jublinalo
Morpheme Informant	mərəβej(n.) jowat'alaləfi(v.) bəbitʃ(v.) bədzimirtij(n.) kətʃ'tʃ'e kətʃin(n.) fitit(n.) kətʃin(adj.) fitit(n.) tijogud(v.) bəmətʃ'ərəʃaj(n.) wəjinm(conj.) dægmo(conj.) bæadi wəgən(n.) bəssəfij wəgən(n.) k'atʃ'e t'it'itʃə(adj.) ʔumun(n.) wəjm(conj.) k'ək'əbu (n.) jublijalej bəzajijɲə k'ək'əbu (n.) jublinalo
Gloss Informant	the fishnet interlacing finished by the begining end thin rope from yarn thin rope from yarn while they knot at the end or as well at the one side at the wider side side small stone (as net weight) or small stones that is called in Zay small stones that is to be called After the interlacing is finished, they tie a thin rope at the starting side of the net and ʔumun 'stone (as net weight)' or k'ək'əbu 'small stones' at the other side of the net which is wider. The stone is called
FT Informant	k'ək'əbu in Zay.
Ref. Informant	036
Phonetic Informant	jogdim tulumuj linzi bəməj jət'oligi mərəβi jit'rək'əmejaləhum jisnəlo
Morpheme Informant	jogdim tulumuj(n.) linzi bəməj jət'oligi mərəβi jit'rək'əmejaləhum(v.)
Gloss Informant	after it is knotted of fish if it is caught by water when it is thrown the fishnet to sunk it it makes (will make)
FT Informant	After it is tied, the stone makes the fishnet to sink in the water.
Ref. Informant	037
Phonetic Informant	ʔihij k'ək'əbu mərəβi lədər jak'ərejhum wist' jəməj wist' jigəbajaləhum jit'rək'məmjaləhum jisnalej ʔitej k'ək'əbu bujtinu
Morpheme Informant	ʔihij(pron.) k'ək'əbu(n.) mərəβi(n.) lədər(adv.) jak'ərejhum(v.) wist'(prep.) jəməj(n.) wist'(prep.) jigəbajaləhum jit'rək'məmjaləhum jisnalej ʔitej k'ək'əbu(n.) bujtinu(v.)
Gloss Informant	this small stones the fishnet from above not to be left in to water into make it go down to make it sink that makes it to it is this small stones that means
FT Informant	It is this stone that makes the fishnet to sink in the water.

Ref. Informant	038
Phonetic Informant	mərəbej tulumuj ladzigəməj bətulumuj dər lət'aləgi ʔunnəməgi lədər bəmərβi k'ətʃ'tʃ'e jətagədej fitit bowatlawəs milikit jabəgi tulumu jinzalej mərəbej jət'aləj səbtitʃə dər bozafim mərəbej bosbəsəb tulumu jinzəlo
Morpheme Informant	mərəbej(n.) tulumuj(n.) ladzigəməj bətulumuj dər(adv.) lət'aləgi ʔunnəməgi lədər bəmərβi k'ətʃ'tʃ'e jətagədej fitit(n.) bowatlawəs milikit jabəgi tulumu(n.) jinzalej mərəbej(n.) jət'aləj(adj.) səbtitʃə(adj.) dər(adv.) bozafim mərəbej(n.) bosbəsəb tulumu(n.) jinzəlo(v.)
Gloss Informant	the fishnet the fish if it is encountered with by the fish above if it is happened when it gives fish the one who catches the fishnet the one who threw persons above by dragging the fishnet by collecting fish catches (will catch) If the fish is trapped by the fishnet, the rope that is tied at the one side of the net will send a vibrating signal so that the fisherman who casted the net can pull out the net and collect the fish.
FT Informant	
Ref. Informant	039
Phonetic Informant	ʔihij mərəβ bahuj gize wejm bahuj zəmən bizim ʔajtit'ok'ombiju
Morpheme Informant	ʔihij(pron.) mərəβ(n.) bahuj(adj.) gize(n.) wejm(conj.) bahuj(adj.) zəmən(n.) bizim(det.) ʔajtit'ok'ombiju(v.)
Gloss Informant	this fishnet by now time or by now year that much they do not use it
FT Informant	This fishnet is not widely used nowadays. It is a thing of the past now.
Ref. Informant	040
Phonetic Informant	ʔilhaneji ʔihij mərəβ bahun səat jaw titrəsən hidəma
Morpheme Informant	ʔilhaneji(adv.) ʔihij(pron.) mərəβ(n.) bahun(adj.) səat(n.) jaw titrəsən(v.) hidəma(v.)
Gloss Informant	therefore this fishnet by now hour that is being forgotten it is going
FT Informant	So this fishnet is being forgotten nowadays.
Ref. Informant	041
Phonetic Informant	gin jəzaj səβ bihanmi hadad səβ ʔahumi ʔaləmməlo

Morpheme Informant	gin(conj.) jəzaj səβ(n.) bihanmi(adv.) hadad(det.) səβ(n.) ʔahumi(adv.) ʔaləmməlo(v.)
Gloss Informant	but of Zaj person however some person also now has it
FT Informant	However, there are some members of the Zaj who kept it.
Ref. Informant	042
Phonetic Informant	beʔindʒimini bisəgargarni hatətəməl bujtinu
Morpheme Informant	beʔindʒimini bisəgargarni hatətəməl bujtinu(v.)
Gloss Informant	also at his hand in every house kept that means
FT Informant	That means, there are persons who kept it in their houses.
Ref. Informant	043
Phonetic Informant	ləmin ʔihij nəgər jaw t'int jababona jajajona lahaneji jahumi ʔaddisij jənaj ratʃa ʔinej bahil wəjnm dəgmo ʔinej jəzəmənəj jəzaj maninətn jaralej k'irs məlləja jilaneji ʔinej mərəβ litʃul ʔində jətarikəj səbtʃa ʔoluməl bujtinu
Morpheme Informant	ləmin ʔihij(pron.) nəgər jaw t'int jababona jajajona lahaneji jahumi ʔaddisij ratʃa ʔinej(pron.) bahil(n.) wəjnm(conj.) dəgmo(conj.) ʔinej(pron.) jəzəmənəj jəzaj maninətn jaralej k'irs məlləja jilaneji ʔinej(pron.) mərəβ litʃul ʔində jətarikəj səbtʃa ʔoluməl bujtinu(v.)
Gloss Informant	why this thing that is ancient of our fathers of our mothers because it is today's too the new this one culture or as well this one the year's of Zaj identity that shows heritage identity sine it is this one fishnet to make them know as oh histories persons they are present that means
FT Informant	Since it is the legacy of our great grandfathers and great grandmothers from which the new generation can learn the culture and identity of Zaj people during the former times, there are persons who kept it with them.
Ref. Informant	044
Phonetic Informant	ʔinna jihij jəndʒi mərəβ bahun səat bəbzat ʔilo
Morpheme Informant	ʔinna(conj.) jihij jəndʒi mərəβ bahun(adj.) səat bəbzat ʔilo

	and his of hand fishnet by now hour in many amount not available that is in some with there is
Gloss Informant	
FT Informant	This hand net is not that much available nowadays.
Ref. Informant	045
Phonetic Informant	jaw badad gar ʔləma bujtinu
Morpheme Informant	jaw badad gar ʔləma bujtinu(v.)
Gloss Informant	that is in some houses it is there that means
FT Informant	It is available in some houses.
Ref. Informant	046
Phonetic Informant	jih ʔingdih bantʃ'r bantʃ'rni tilidohum ʔalohu
Morpheme Informant	jih(pron.) ʔingdih bantʃ'r bantʃ'rni tilidohum ʔalohu
Gloss Informant	this then in brief in the brief I am telling you
FT Informant	I am telling you in short.
Ref. Informant	047
Phonetic Informant	ʔaritepa ʔuŋgə tulumu jinzubijale jəzəmənij jədʒəlbaj mərəβ wəjnm borətə jɪtbəɲalej tihan
Morpheme Informant	ʔaritepa ʔuŋgə(n.) tulumu(n.) jinzubijale jəzəmənij jədʒəlbaj mərəβ wəjnm(conj.) borətə jɪtbəɲalej tihan
Gloss Informant	the fourth method fish means trapping the current of the boat fishnet that is to be called while it is or beach seine
FT Informant	The fourth method of catching fish is the modern fishnet that is used on a boat is called borətə.
Ref. Informant	048
Phonetic Informant	ʔih mərəβ bəməkinaj gomma wəjnm kiri wəjm bəkərər k'əɲit bowat'ələləf jissərəlo
Morpheme Informant	ʔih mərəβ bəməkinaj gomma wəjnm(conj.) kiri wəjm(conj.) bəkərər k'əɲit bowat'ələləf jissərəlo

	this fishnet by the car tyre or thread or thinly spun weft by interlacing it is(will be) made
Gloss Informant	
FT Informant	This fishnet is made by interlacing the thread from a tyre or a spun yarn.
Ref. Informant	049
Phonetic Informant	ʔihij tihan jəhojt kəsə godinni ʔiskə hojt bək'il hojt bək'il metir waʔn bowtmi ligədir jak'əhlinəlo
Morpheme Informant	ʔihij(pron.) tihan jəhojt kəsə(n.) godinni ʔiskə hojt bək'il hojt bək'il metir waʔn(conj.) bowtmi ligədir jak'əhlinəlo
Gloss Informant	this while it is of two part its side upto two hundred two hundred meter and from it to exceed it could be
FT Informant	Its two bags and sides can be two hundred meters or long and even more.
Ref. Informant	050
Phonetic Informant	hojt giddirnə tʃinə bujɪtnu
Morpheme Informant	hojt giddirnə tʃinə bujɪtnu(v.)
Gloss Informant	two double that means
FT Informant	
Ref. Informant	That means two fold
Ref. Informant	051
Phonetic Informant	hadi wəgən kəsə hojtn kəsə ʔalejma
Morpheme Informant	hadi wəgən(n.) kəsə(n.) hojtn kəsə(n.) ʔalejma(v.)
Gloss Informant	of one side part two part it has
FT Informant	It has two bags.
Ref. Informant	052
Phonetic Informant	hadi wəgən kəsə ʔiskə hoj bək'lami lihanjak'əhlɲa.
Morpheme Informant	hadi wəgən(n.) kəsə(n.) ʔiskə(adv.) hoj bək'lami lihanjak'əhlɲa.
Gloss Informant	the one side part upto two hundred and it can be

FT Informant	The bag at the one side alone can be two hundren meters long
Ref. Informant	053
Phonetic Informant	jakum dægmo hadi wægən kəsə jakum bujɪtnu
Morpheme Informant	jakum(adv.) dægmo(conj.) hadi(adj.) wægən(n.) kəsəp(n.) jakum(adv.) bujɪtnu(v.)
Gloss Informant	likewise as well one side part likewise that means
FT Informant	The same is true for the other side.
Ref. Informant	054
Phonetic Informant	bəhojti kəsasu bohojti kəsasu git git nom jəkisihum jaləm tulumuj tʃim jiblejalejhum woj zaj dʒonja jɪtbənal bujtnu
Morpheme Informant	bəhojti(adj.) kəsasu(n.) git(adv.) git(adv.) nom(pron.) jəkisihum(n.) jaləm(v.) tulumuj(n.)tʃim jiblejalejhum woj zaj dʒonja jɪtbənal bujtnu
Gloss Informant	at the two parts between between of them as a pocket became the fish gather itself together to make it happen or Zaj bag to be called that meanas
FT Informant	The fish that come together can be seen between the two bags.
Ref. Informant	055
Phonetic Informant	dʒonja jɪtbənalej nəgər ʔaləməlo
Morpheme Informant	dʒonja jɪtbənalej nəgər ʔaləməlo
Gloss Informant	bag that is called thing there is
FT Informant	There is a thing that is called dʒonja.
Ref. Informant	056
Phonetic Informant	bəhojt bəmərəbtʃa badi kəsəbə bəməhal nom bəgit nom dʒonja tulumuj jɪt'ra jisβəsbjalej tulumu tʃim bilm jimətabi jalej ʔawdə bujɪtnu ʔihij dʒonja
Morpheme Informant	bəhojt bəmərəbtʃa badi kəsəbwə bəməhal nom bəgit nom dʒonja tulumuj(n.) jisβəsbjalej tulumu(n.) tʃim bilm jimətabijalej ʔawdə bujɪtnu(v.) ʔihij(pron.) dʒonja(n.)
Gloss Informant	by two by fishnet by one part and between of them between of them bag the fish the fish to gather itself together fish bring being means that it comes place that means this bag

FT Informant

Ref. Informant

057

Phonetic Informant

bihij mutʃa wəjm bihij mərəβ tulumu lojenzat ʃeʃt səbtʃa jɪtfotʃʼinolo

Morpheme Informant

bihij mutʃa wəjm(conj.) bihij mərəβ tulumu(n.) lojenzat ʃeʃt səbtʃa jɪtfotʃʼinolo

Gloss Informant

by this gear or by this fishnet fish to catch three persons they are needed

FT Informant

In order to catch fish using this fishnet, three persons are needed.

Ref. Informant

058

Phonetic Informant

ʃeʃt səbtʃa jɪtfatʃʼulo

Morpheme Informant

ʃeʃt səbtʃa jɪtfatʃʼulo

Gloss Informant

three persons are needed

FT Informant

Three persons are needed.

Ref. Informant

059

Phonetic Informant

hadi səβ jəmədzəmərjani jɪftitej kʼətʃʼtʃʼe jɪnzm hojt səbtʃə mərəβej bəməj wistʼ bədzəlbaj zor jisunum bəgurgob kʼitʼtʼu hojtnom bozafim kib jəsərej mərəβ tʃʼiirə jəməj tʃʼiirə wəjnm bəamariɲna dar bujɪtnu dar tʃʼiirə bojint dər jətʼolij mərəβ jizufi jizufim tʃʼiirə mətʼolu tʃʼiirə bamotʼu tʃʼiirə bəkʼərəb hojti kətʃʼtʃʼe jəmərəβta hojti kʼətʃʼtʃʼe wahrahab mərəβej bosəbsəb bədzonjaj wistʼ jitsəbəsəbej tulumu bədzəlbaj wistʼ bogləbətʼ bih ʔungə bwagragəb bilənomi jisərolo

Morpheme Informant

hadi səβ(n.) jəmədzəmərjani jɪftitej kʼətʃʼtʃʼe jɪnzm hojt səbtʃə mərəβej bəməj bədzəlbaj zorjisunum bəgurgob kʼitʼtʼu hojtnom bozafim kib jəsərej mərəβ tʃʼiirə jəməj ʃʼiirə wəjnm(conj.) bəamariɲna dar bujɪtnu(v.) dar tʃʼiirə bojint dər(adv.) jətʼolij mərəβ jizufi jizufim tʃʼiirə mətʼolu tʃʼiirə bamotʼu tʃʼiirə bəkʼərəb hojti kətʃʼtʃʼe

jəmərəβtʃaj hojti kʼətʃʼtʃʼe wahrahab mərəβej bosəbsəb bədzonjaj wistʼ(prepp.) jitsəbəsəbej tulumu(n.) bədzəlbaj wistʼ bogləbətʼ bihij ʔungə(n.) bwagragəb bilənomi jisərolo

Gloss Informant

the one person the first one of the rope thin holding two persons the fishnet by water by the boat they encircling after they returned equal the two by dragging and circle that made fishnet shore to

	<p>water shore or in Amharic edge that means edge shore means above that is thrown fishnet being dragged and being dragged shore they bring shore if they bring shore if it nears the two end of the fishnets two end by meeting the fishnet collecting by the bag in the one collected fish by the boat in by overturning by this method by repeating their job they work</p> <p>One of the persons holds one of the drag lines of the fishnet while the two persons hold the two ends of the net and move together in the water so that the fish net become in circular shape. After returning to the position where they start the encircling, both of them drag the two sides of the net concurrently and bring them together. Then they drag and collect the fishnet so that they can get it to the shore to land the fish that they caught in the canoe. They carry out their task like this.</p>
FT Informant	
Ref. Informant	060
Phonetic Informant	<p>mərəḅ jihij borətə jublijalej mərəḅ bəhojt k'ətʃ'tʃ'e lədər wa lə wist' bujɪtnu lədər wa lə wist' lədər jətungolu k'irt'atʃ' jətungolu k'irt'atʃ' wejnm buʃ jublijalej nəgər jogudbilo</p> <p>mərəḅ jihij borətə jublijalej mərəḅ bəhojt k'ətʃ'tʃ'e lədər wa lə wist' lədər wa lə wist'(prep.) lədər jətungolu(adj.) k'irt'atʃ'(n.) jətungolu(adj.) k'irt'atʃ'(n.) wejnm(conj.) buʃ(n.) jublijalej (v.) nəgər jogudbilo</p>
Morpheme Informant	
Gloss Informant	<p>fishnet this beach seine that is called fishnet by two end from above plus from in from above plus from in from above of balsa wood piece of balsa wood piece or cork that is called thing is (will be) tied</p> <p>A short spongy wood which is cut from tongolu 'balsa wood' or a cork that is also known as buʃ is tied to the two upper ends of the fishnet known as borətə.</p>
FT Informant	
Ref. Informant	061
Phonetic Informant	lewist' dəgmo ʔirsasi jublinal jəhonə jiḅrətəj hum nəgər ʔaləma
Morpheme Informant	lewist' dəgmo(conj.) ʔirsasi jublinal jəhonə jiḅrətəj hum nəgər ʔaləma
Gloss Informant	from inside as well lid being called something that is metal like some thing thing there is
FT Informant	At the bottom there is a kind metal known as ʔirsasi 'lid'.

Ref. Informant	062
Phonetic Informant	mərəbej jit'rək'əmejaləhum jisnalej ?utə ?alebima bujitnu
Morpheme Informant	mərəbej jit'rək'əmejaləhum jisnalej ?utə ?alebima bujitnu(v.)
Gloss Informant	the fishnet to sunk it that makes it there is it that means
FT Informant	As a weight it makes the fishnet to sink.
Ref. Informant	063
Phonetic Informant	?aləf ?aləf jolf jolfoj ?inm jogudbilo bujitnu
Morpheme Informant	?aləf ?aləf jolf jolfoj ?inm jogudbilo bujitnu(v.)
Gloss Informant	passing passing past and passing is that is to be tied to it that means
FT Informant	That means it is tied at a certain distance.
Ref. Informant	064
	?ini badad metir rikət jitagədm mərəbi wist' jinzijale wəjnm dəmo jəməj wist' wəgən jigəbam jədətji wəgən dətji jizm jizafejalehum jusnilo
Phonetic Informant	?ini badad metir rikət jitagədm mərəbi wist'(prep.) jinzijale wəjnm(conj.) dəmo
Morpheme Informant	jəməj wist'(prep.) wəgən(n.) jigəbam jədətji wəgən(n.) dətji jizm jizafejalehum jusnilo
Gloss Informant	its eye in some meter distance after knotted the fishnet in the one that catches or as well to water in side while it entered to land side land while it held to make it dragged will be made
FT Informant	The net that is tied to the net through its openings (eye) a distance of one meter each makes the net to be dragged as its bottom edge touches the floor of the lake.
Ref. Informant	065
Phonetic Informant	ledərəni buʃi wəj tongolu k'ərt'atʃ' mərəβ jajsəmt'u wa wəst' jajk'ərehum lədər jinsafəfm jimət'alehum bəməhal mərəβ lalej bəwtgt jalej tulmitʃə hataj k'oru jaw jitsəbəsəbm jamət'al bujitnu

Morpheme Informant	<p>ledərəni buʃi (n.) wəj(conj.) tongolu (n.) k'ərt'atʃ' mərəβ (n.) jajsəmt'u wa wəst' jək'ərehum lədər jinsafəfm jīmət'alehum bəməhal mərəβ lalej bəwtgt jalej tulmitʃə hataj k'oru jaw jitsəbəsəbm jamət'al bujɪtnu(v.) at the upper side cork or balsa wood piece fishnet not to make it sunk plus inside not be left from above by floating to make it come at the middle fishnet because there is in the middle of that the one in there fishes even one nothing left that is gather and comes (will come) that means</p>
Gloss Informant	The cork or a short balsa wood that floats at the top prevents the fishnet from being lost while the net that hangs vertically between the floats and the weights catches all the fishes.
FT Informant	
Ref. Informant	066
Phonetic Informant	bəmətʃ'ərəʃa dəgmo bəhojtmno k'ətʃ'atʃ'u massetə jublinal ʔint'et ʔaləməlo
Morpheme Informant	bəmətʃ'ərəʃa dəgmo(conj.) bəhojtmno k'ətʃ'atʃ'u massetə jublinal ʔint'et ʔaləməlo
Gloss Informant	at last as well by the two ends a means for keeping upright being called wood there is
FT Informant	
Ref. Informant	There is also a wood that is called massetə at both ends of the net.
Ref. Informant	067
Phonetic Informant	ʔihij ʔint'et milkt bujɪtnu
Morpheme Informant	ʔihij(pron.) ʔint'et(n.) milkt(n.) bujɪtnu(v.)
Gloss Informant	this wood symbol that means
FT Informant	
Ref. Informant	This wood is an indicator
Ref. Informant	068
Phonetic Informant	<p>bəwədəro dər bərik'ət ʔihidej wəjnm bəftiti dər bəjihidej mərəβ jok'arəbəni jatralej jəmərəβej waʔn jodəroj gununbijale wudə jinom jirubjale wudə jaralej milikt bujɪtnu massetəj jinom jirubjale wudə jaralej milikt bujɪtnu massetəj</p>
Morpheme Informant	<p>bəwədəro(n.) dər(adv.) bərik'ət ʔihidej wəjnm(conj.) bəftiti dər(adv.)bəjihidej mərəβ jok'arəbəni jatralej jəmərəβej waʔn(conj.) jodəroj(n.) gununbijale wudə jinom jirubjale ʔawudə jaralej milikt</p>

	bujitnu(v.) massetəj(n.) jinom jirubjale wudə jaralej milikt bujitnu(v.) massetəj(n.) by a rope above by a distance the one that went or by the rope from yarn above by the one that went fishnet that it came closer that shows of the fishnet and of the rope place place that shows symbol that means the wood that keeps the net upright
Gloss Informant	that shows symbol that means wood that keeps the net upright
FT Informant	These persons usually fish during nighttime as the fish in the deepest parts of the lake is more available during the nighttime than the daytime.
Ref. Informant	069
Phonetic Informant	ʔihij ʔuŋgə ʃɛt səβtʃa had dʒəlbə jatfatʃina
Morpheme Informant	ʔihij(pron.) ʔuŋgə(n.) ʃɛt səβtʃa had dʒəlbə(n.) jatfatʃina(adj.)
Gloss Informant	this method three persons one boat is needed
FT Informant	Three persons and one boat are needed to catch fish using this method.
Ref. Informant	070
Phonetic Informant	ʔinej tulumu ʔinej mərəβ gobəz ləhongi ʃɛtəgi wəj ʔaratəgi jitʼlunəl bujitnu
Morpheme Informant	ʔinej(pron.) tulumu(n.) ʔinej(pron.) mərəβ(n.) gobəz(adj.) ləhongi ʃɛtəgi wəj(conj.) ʔaratəgi jitʼlunəl bujitnu(v.)
Gloss Informant	this one fish this one fishnet strong if they are three times or four times they throw that means
FT Informant	If the fishermen are stronger, they can cast it three or four times and catch fish.
Ref. Informant	071
Phonetic Informant	tulumu laləgi bək’a hoj hojtəgi wəj hadəgi bitʃa t’ilo tulumu lilə ʃɛt ʔartəgi jit’ilunum bək’a jatfatʃjalej tulumunomi binzuwa k’olunam bujitnu
Morpheme Informant	tulumu(n.) laləgi bək’a hoj hojtəgi wəj(conj.) hadəgi bitʃa(adv.) t’ilo tulumu(n.) lilə ʃɛt ʔartəgi jit’ilunum bək’a jatfatʃjalej tulumunomi binzuwa k’olunam bujitnu(v.)
Gloss Informant	fish if there is that's it two twice or once only having it thrown fish if there is no

	three for times having thrown enough that is needed their fish having it thrown that means
FT Informant	If there is abundant fish they can cast their fishnet only one or two times; but when in times of fish shortage they try three or four times and can catch as many fish as they want.
Ref. Informant	072
Phonetic Informant	bərgit' ʔihij məɾəβ t'titəni t'itʃani tulumu lit'ərgm lijamət'alej banəg t'itəni ʔiŋtinm jublijal naro
Morpheme Informant	bərgit' ʔihij məɾəβ t'titəni t'itʃani tulumu(n.) lit'ərgm lijamət'alej banəg t'itəni ʔiŋtinm jublijal naro
Gloss Informant	in fact this fishnet by small the smaller ones fish after it swept because it brings previously small that is called was
FT Informant	In fact, there was complaining over this fishnet as it indiscriminately sweeps up young fish.
Ref. Informant	073
Phonetic Informant	tulumun natʃirəko
Morpheme Informant	tulumun(n.) natʃirəko(v.)
Gloss Informant	it depleted
FT Informant	It depleted the fish resource.
Ref. Informant	074
Phonetic Informant	tulumu horte hatəro jətulumu had had bolinm ʔintin bolminaro
Morpheme Informant	tulumu(n.) horte hatəro jətulumu(adj.) had() had bolinm(v.) ʔintin bolminaro(v.)
Gloss Informant	fish raising banned of tulumu one one being called was called
FT Informant	So it has been said that the Fish Resource Center had banned the use of it.
Ref. Informant	075
Phonetic Informant	gin bahun gize bahun səat məɾəbej ʔinej səfa səfa bəwəbɲit ʔasof ʔasofim jiblo sorij tititʃaj tulumtʃə ʔantʃin jigofirim gididiraj bitʃa jinzm limət' təʃaʃalən təsərməl bujɪtnu

Morpheme Informant	but(conj.) bahun(adj.) gize(n.) bahun(adj.) səat(n.) mərəβej(n.) ʔinej(pron.) səfa səfa bəwabɲit(v.)ʔasof(v.) ʔasofim(v.) jiblo(v.) sorij(v.) tititʃaj(adj) tulumtʃə(n.) ʔantʃin(adv.)bujitnu(v.)
Gloss Informant	but by now day by now time the fishnet this one to be wide to be wide by doing by making it wide and by making it wide after being said made the smaller fishes to the back that means
FT Informant	However, this fishnet is now improved by making its mesh size wide so as to enable young fish escape through and the grownups trapped.
Ref. Informant	076
Phonetic Informant	tulumu bəbzat wəj dəgmo ʔabbeni jɪtfatʃijalah bwagnit ʔinətej mərəβ jɪtʰəkəməl bujɪtnu
Morpheme Informant	tulumu(n.) bəbzat wəj(conj.) dəgmo(conj.) ʔabbeni(v.) jɪtfatʃijalah(v.) bwagnit(v.) ʔinətej(n.) mərəβjɪtʰəkəməl bujɪtnu(v.)
Gloss Informant	fish abundantly or as well the owner that he needed by obtaining this one fishnet he uses (will use) that means
FT Informant	This fishnet allows the fisherman to catch as many fish as he wants.
Ref. Informant	077
Phonetic Informant	lilaj ʔahmi jəamistəpaj mərəβ jalej tulumuj jɪnzubijal ʔuŋgə jətirmallan mərəβ tirmallə jublina
Morpheme Informant	lilaj ʔahmi jəamistəpaj mərəβ jalej tulumuj(n.) jɪnzubijal ʔuŋgə(n.) jətirmallan mərəβ tirmallə(n.) jublina
Gloss Informant	the other aswell the fifth fishnet the one in there the fish to catch with method the seine net fishnet seine net being called
FT Informant	The fifth method of catching fish employs the fishnet known as tirmallə.It is called tirmallə.
Ref. Informant	078
Phonetic Informant	ʔih tirmallə məreβ bələjnon kɪr bələjnoni kɪr jɪsəralo
Morpheme Informant	ʔih tirmallə(n.) məreβ bələjnon kɪr bələjnoni kɪr jɪsəralo
Gloss Informant	this seine net fishnet by a nylon thread by the nylon thread it is made

FT Informant	This fishnet can be made with nylon threads.
Ref. Informant	079
Phonetic Informant	lajnon kɪr guməranu kɪr jusurbijalej guməranu
Morpheme Informant	Lajnon(n.) kɪr(n.) guməranu kɪr(n.) jusurbijalej guməranu
Gloss Informant	nylon thread is white thread by which they work is white
FT Informant	The nylon thread from which the net is intertwined is commonly white.
Ref. Informant	080
Phonetic Informant	gəmbəlamɪ ʔalənu bisə məlkni ʔaləma bisə dimami ʔalənu guməramɪ jalən gəmbəlamɪ ʔalənu
Morpheme Informant	gəmbəlamɪ ʔalənu bisə(det.) məlkni ʔaləma bisə dimami ʔalənu guməramɪ jalən gəmbəlamɪ ʔalənu
Gloss Informant	also black there is every the face there is face also red the one there is also white the one there is also black the one there is
FT Informant	However, there are varieties of colors including red and black
Ref. Informant	081
Phonetic Informant	abbettəni jɪtfatʃɪm ɡɪn bəbzət jalej guməranju
Morpheme Informant	abbettəni jɪtfatʃɪm ɡɪn(conj.) bəbzət jalej guməranju
Gloss Informant	the owner that he needed but abundantly the one in there white is
FT Informant	But the white one, which is available plentifully, is more important for fishermen.
Ref. Informant	082
Phonetic Informant	ləmɪn ʔinej mərəβ jət'olɪɡi jəməj wɪst' jɪɡəbaɡi tulumu jajrejhum
Morpheme Informant	ləmɪn ʔinej(pron.) mərəβ(n.) jət'olɪɡi jəməj wɪst'(prep.) jɪɡəbaɡi tulumu(n.) jajrejhum
Gloss Informant	why this one fishnet when it is trapped to water in when it goes into fish not to be seen
FT Informant	It is more important for its white color that cannot easily be identified by the fish when it is casted in the water.
Ref. Informant	083

Phonetic Informant	ʔihij guməraj kiri jitm̥sasəlejalehum bizəm ʔajlej bujɪtnu tulumu
Morpheme Informant	ʔihij(pron.) guməraj kiri jitm̥sasəlejalehum bizəm ʔajlej bujɪtnu(v.) tulumu(n.)
Gloss Informant	this the white thread to be disguised with that much it does (will)not identify that means fish
FT Informant	this white thread can be disguised with the water so that the fish cannot usually identify it.
Ref. Informant	084
Phonetic Informant	gudernani jabbettəni ʔak'mu jiwəsɲjale bujɪtnu
Morpheme Informant	gudernani jabbettəni ʔak'mu jiwəsɲjale bujɪtnu(v.)
Gloss Informant	its length of the owner ability that will determine that means
FT Informant	The length of this fishnet is dependent on the ability of owner.
Ref. Informant	085
Phonetic Informant	gudernani jabbettəni ʔak'mu jiwəsɲjale bujɪtnu
Morpheme Informant	gudernani jabbettəni ʔak'mu jiwəsɲjale bujɪtnu(v.)
Gloss Informant	its length of the owner ability that will determine that means
FT Informant	The length of this fishnet is dependent on the ability of owner.
Ref. Informant	086
Phonetic Informant	bək'lami hoj bək'lami ʔutmi bəwtmi dərəni lihan jak'hləna
Morpheme Informant	bək'lami hoj bək'lami ʔutmi(conj.) bowtmi dərəni lihan jak'hləna
Gloss Informant	hunderd and two hundred and it and from it the above to be can be
FT Informant	It can have a length of one hundred or two hundred meters or even more.
Ref. Informant	087
Phonetic Informant	bək'il had bək'il hojt bək'il jabbetən wəjo ləhanəgi jagubrin jisəralo
Morpheme Informant	bək'il had bək'il hojt bək'il jabbetən wəjo ləhanəgi jagubrin jisəralo(v.)
Gloss Informant	hundred one hundred two hundred its of the owner better therefore it is made

FT Informant	The length, whether it is one hundred meter or two undred meter, it is upto the owner.
Ref. Informant	088
Phonetic Informant	ʔabbeni dægmo jisəralej seβ bitʃa ʔak'mn jifək'əd ləhanəgi latint'rən jisəral bujɪtnu ʔabbeni(n.) dægmo(conj.) jisəralej(v.) seβ(n.) bitʃa(adv.) ʔak'mn jifək'əd ləhanəgi(adv.) latint'rən jisəral bujɪtnu(v.)
Morpheme Informant	
Gloss Informant	the owner as well the onewho works person only his ability if allows therefor having shortened he works (will work) that means
FT Informant	The owner or the fisherman who fish with the net can make it shorter depending on his ability to catch fish
Ref. Informant	089
Phonetic Informant	gin bihan ʔajk'u t'itlahan ʔiskə bək'il metir jahilna bujɪtnu gin(conj.) bihan ʔajk'u t'itlahan ʔiskə bək'il metir jahilna bujɪtnu(v.)
Morpheme Informant	
Gloss Informant	but yet how if it is small up to hundred meter might reach that means
FT Informant	The smallest one is one hundred meters long.
Ref. Informant	090
Phonetic Informant	tirmallaj bəssərm bəbitʃ ʔinej bat'olofi bujɪtnu meərəβij bisərij bəhadij gon wəjm bəhadi kəsə ʔumun bəjhojtɳaj ʔogən kəsə jətongoluj k'irt'atʃ' jətongoluj k'irt'atʃ' wəjnm buʃ jogodbim bəməj wist' jurborbiləm tirmallaj bəssərm bəbitʃ ʔinej(pron.) bat'olofi bujɪtnu(v.) meərəβij bisərij bəhadi gon wəjm(conj.) bəhadi kəsə(n.) ʔumun bəjhojtɳaj ʔogən kəsə(n.) jətongoluj k'irt'atʃ' jətongoluj k'irt'atʃ' wəjnm(conj.) buʃ(n.) jogodbim bəməj(n.) wist' jurborbiləm
Morpheme Informant	
Gloss Informant	the seine net having it done if it finished this one after it is intertwined that means the fishnet if it is done by the one side or by the one part stone (as net weight) by the second side part of the balsa wood a small piece of the balsa wood a small piece or cork tied to it by water in entrapping it
FT Informant	Once interlacing the tirmallə is finished, the next step is casting to the lake by tying a big stone to its one side and a short balsa wood or cork to the other.

Ref. Informant	091
Phonetic Informant	miʃit jirborbim k'ilat wəjnm zaɳat bəʃəfət' jɪhidim tulumuj bəwist'ini jɪlok'milo
Morpheme Informant	miʃit(n.) jirborbim(n.) k'ilat(n.) wəjnm(conj.) zaɳat(n.) bəʃəfət'(n.) jɪhidim(v.) tulumuj(n.) bəwist'ini(n.)jɪlok'milo(v.)
Gloss Informant	evening it is entrapped and dawn or morning by a canoe being gone the fish from inside it is (will be)picked
FT Informant	The fisherman casts it at night and returns at dawn or early in the morning to collect the fish that are caught.
Ref. Informant	092
Phonetic Informant	tirmallaj badʒin tulumuj bəlok'omij tirmalləj badʒi liwəgilo
Morpheme Informant	tirmallaj(n.) badʒin(n.) tulumuj(n.) bəlok'omij tirmalləj badʒi liwəgilo
Gloss Informant	the seine net the place where it is the fish while he picking the seine net where it is he leaves (will leave)
FT Informant	He collects the fish and leaves the tirmallə net where it was.
Ref. Informant	093
Phonetic Informant	ləgəjsimi badʒim lihanejalej bujɪtnu
Morpheme Informant	ləgəjsimi badʒim lihanejalej bujɪtnu(v.)
Gloss Informant	for tomorrow as well where it is because it can be that means
FT Informant	The fisherman collects the fish and leaves the the tirmallə net where it was for tomorrow's catch.
Ref. Informant	094
Phonetic Informant	tulumu minalbat bəwt ʔakababi liləgi tirmallaj jisbosbunum wədə lilə ʔawdə jusudum bəlilə ʔawdə jɪt'ulum bujɪtnu
Morpheme Informant	tulumu(n.) minalbat bəwt ʔakababi liləgi tirmalləj jisbosbunum wədə lilə(n.) ʔawdə jusudum bəlilə ʔawdə jɪt'ulum(n.) bujɪtnu(v.)
Gloss Informant	after they took it by another place after they threw it that means after they took it by another place

	after they threw it that means
FT Informant	In case the fish stock is not abundant in that location, it can be relocated and casted to another part of the lake.
Ref. Informant	095
Phonetic Informant	tulumu ʔawdə jigənlaləgi bowtm ʔawdə tulumuj bitʃa jilok'umo bəwst'ni mərəβej minalbat jit'mat'm laləgi jiftotum bogənni jazegodzum jamtʃotʃum badzim jodgil bujitnu
Morpheme Informant	tulumu(n.) ʔawdə jigənlaləgi bowtm ʔawdə tulumuj(n.) bitʃa(adv.) jilok'umo bəwst'ni mərəβej(n.) minalbat jit'mat'm laləgi(n.) jiftotum(v.) bogənni(n.) jazegodzum jamtʃotʃum(n.) badzim(v.) jodgil(v.) bujitnu(v.)
Gloss Informant	fish place where it can be available therein place the fish only it is picked the inside the fishnet maybe something that tangled if there is after they detangled properly after they prepared it after they eased it off where it is he leaves (will leave) that means
FT Informant	But in cases of fish abundance he simply collects the catch and leave it where it is after he detangles interlaces of net if there is any tangle.
Ref. Informant	096
Phonetic Informant	ʔinej tirmallə bərborobi miʃit jorborbinalo k'ilat wəjnm ʔəpət dəgmo ʔabbeni bəgarni ʔaam jandərm k'ilat jihidm bəwst'ni jalej tulumu bitʃanəni jisbəsbal
Morpheme Informant	ʔinej(det.) tirmallə(n.) bərborobi miʃit jorborbinalo k'ilat(n.) wəjnm(conj.) ʔəpət dəgmo(conj.) ʔabbeni bəgarni ʔaam jandərm k'ilat jihidm bəwst'ni jalej tulumu(n.) bitʃanəni jisbəsbal
Gloss Informant	this one seine net after it is thrown evening it is thrown (will be thrown) morning or morning as well the owner in his house while he slept he spent the night dawn after he went the inside the one in there fish the only it is (will be) picked
FT Informant	The fisherman who casted the tirmallə net at night goes to his house to spend the night sleeping and returns at dawn or early in the morning to collect the fish trapped.
Ref. Informant	097
Phonetic Informant	tulumu lilə wəd lile ʔawdə jusdim jisbəsbal bujitnu ʔəmbazə lihanjak'əhlna mintʃ'i lihanjak'əhlna biltʃa lihanjak'əhl
Morpheme Informant	tulumu(n.) ʔiŋgdeh k'orosomi lihanjak'əhlna ʔəmbazə lihanjak'əhlna mintʃ'i lihanjak'əhlna biltʃa lihanjak'əhl

Gloss Informant	fish then tilapia too it can be catfish it can be barbus it can be Nile tilapia it can be
FT Informant	The fish caught can be tilapia, catfish or barbus. It can also be the newly introduced carassius.
Ref. Informant	098
Phonetic Informant	ʔammi zəmənaj hadi jəmət'aj dʒape jublijal ʔintin ʔaləma ʔot dagu ʔahumi mərəβən k'əlbol boli ʔinominommun lijnz jakəhlinəl bujɪtnu ʔinej inətej janətej jinzəl ʔajbuli
Morpheme Informant	ʔammi zəmənaj hadi jəmət'aj dʒape jublijal ʔintin ʔaləma ʔot dagu ʔahumi mərəβən k'əlbol boli ʔinominommun lijnz jakəhlinəl bujɪtnu(v.) ʔinej(pron.) inətej janətej jinzəl ʔajbuli
Gloss Informant	now too modern the one that came carassius that is called there is also it else just as well fishnet those to catch it can that means this one this thing that thing it catches (will catch) it does not say
FT Informant	Since it is not selective, the fishnet cannot be assigned to a specific type of fish species.
Ref. Informant	099
Phonetic Informant	jigəni tulumu t'ək'lalə jɪznəl bujɪtnu
Morpheme Informant	jigəni tulumu(n.) t'ək'lalə jɪznəl(adj.) bujɪtnu(v.)
Gloss Informant	fish in general it catches (will catch) that means
FT Informant	.
Ref. Informant	It can catch any fish available.
Ref. Informant	100
Phonetic Informant	ʔihij mərəβ gɪn t'itəni kɪrij k'ətʃ'in ləhanej ʔidmeni t'itəni ʔantʃirinu
Morpheme Informant	ʔihij(pron.) mərəβ gɪn(conj.) t'itəni kɪrij k'ətʃ'in ləhanej ʔidmeni t'itəni ʔantʃirinu
Gloss Informant	this fishnet but small the thread thin because it is its age small is short
FT Informant	The problem with this net is its thin thread from which it is intertwined so that it is not long lasting.
Ref. Informant	101
Phonetic Informant	kiri k'ətʃ'itʃ'i ləhaneji ʔunəməgi jibət'atəsm litʃ'itʃərk jak'əhlɪna

Morpheme Informant	kiri k'ətʃ'itʃ'i(adj.) ləhaneji(adv.) ʔunəməgi(n.) jībət'atəsm(v.)litʃ'itʃərk(v.) jak'əhləna(v.)
Gloss Informant	the thread very thin because it is right away it can be worn out it can be done it can be
FT Informant	It can be worn out right away.
Ref. Informant	102
Phonetic Informant	jaw ləgizeni gin jəsəβ lifat jatfatʃ'u
Morpheme Informant	jaw ləgizeni(n.) gin(conj.) jəsəβ(adj.) lifat(n.) jatfatʃ'u(v.)
Gloss Informant	that is temporarily but of human exhaustion ease
FT Informant	But temporarily i can ease exhaustion. The fisherman entraps it in the evening.
Ref. Informant	103
Phonetic Informant	bəʃəfət'nij jihidm bəməj wist jīt'lejnəl
Morpheme Informant	bəʃəfət'nij jihidm bəməj wist jīt'lejnəl
Gloss Informant	by the canoe after he went by water in he throws (will throw)
FT Informant	He goes by his canoe and casts the net in the water.
Ref. Informant	104
Phonetic Informant	zəpət dəgmo jihidinm bəwist'n jale tulumu jilək'mim mərəβəmij jifətatejim badjijm jadgejil tulumu lalegi bujītnu
Morpheme Informant	zəpət dəgmo(conj.) jihidinm bəwist'n jale tulumu(n.) jilək'mim mərəβəmij jifətatejim badjijm jadgejil tulumu(n.) lalegi bujītnu(v.) morning as well and after he went inside it that exists fish after he picked the fishnet as well after he disentangled it where it is he leaves(will leave) it fish if there is that means
Gloss Informant	He goes at dawn to pick up the fish from the net, disentangles it and leaves it where it is, if there is enough fish.
FT Informant	
Ref. Informant	105
Phonetic Informant	tulumu lilə wəd lile ʔawdə jusdim jisbəsəbəl bujītnu
Morpheme Informant	tulumu (n.) lilə wəd lelə ʔawdə jusdim jisbəsəbəl bujītnu(v.)

Gloss Informant	fish if there is no to another place after he took it he collects (he will collect) that means
FT Informant	If there is no fish, he pulls together the net and takes to another location.
Ref. Informant	106
Phonetic Informant	ʔega ʔihij bəzaj səβ wəj bəzajɲna wəj biɲami hizbɲam wejinm səβɲaɲ ʔinətej bowsrit jitndadəral bujintnu
Morpheme Informant	ʔega ʔihij(pron.) bəzaj səβ(n.) wəj(conj.) bəzajɲna wəj(conj.) biɲami(possess. pron.) hizbɲam(n)wejinm(conj.) səβɲaɲ(n.) ʔinətej(det.) bowsrit(v.) jitndadəral(v.) bujintnu(v.)
Gloss Informant	to wait this by Zaj person or in Zaj language or ours people or our persons this one by working earn lives that means
FT Informant	This is how our people, the Zaj, earn their lives.

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work. This thesis has not been presented for any academic study in any other university, and all sources of material used for this work are clearly acknowledged.

Name: Fekadu Ethiopia

Signature:

Date:

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as university advisor.

Confirmed by the advisor: Dr. Ronny Meyer

Signature:

Date: